

National Civic Review

(Formerly National Municipal Review)

December 1961

Volume L, No. 11

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► First Half Century—*Editorial*

► To Aid the Small City

Hubert H. Humphrey

► The Miraculous City

Paul N. Ylvisaker

► Want to Be Elected?

Martin Abramson

New York City
Charter Adopted



PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Civic Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

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League Mortgage Wiped Out

With a gift of \$25,000 on October 31, one of a series from The Cowles Charitable Trust, the mortgage on the National Municipal League's headquarters building was completely wiped out.

The contribution, like the three previous ones in like amount, was in the form of a credit against the \$100,000 mortgage held by the Trust when the League purchased the building in 1955.

Transmitting the welcome news, Gardner Cowles, president and editor of *Look Magazine*, who established the trust in 1948, wrote League Executive Director Alfred Willoughby:

"I am very pleased that the trustees of The Cowles Charitable Trust have now contributed the balance of the mortgage on the property at 47 East 68th Street, New York City, to the National Municipal League.

"I want to wish you and the League every success in the years ahead."

Mr. Cowles, League officers and trustees of The Cowles Charitable Trust participated in a mortgage burning party November 13 in the Osborn Room of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Building to celebrate the debt-free status.

George H. Gallup, chairman of the League's governing Council, who was president at the time of the purchase, and Mr. Cowles joined in the task of reducing the paper to ashes.

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee, gave a humorous account of the many vicissitudes attending the efforts to acquire permanent quarters.

At the close of the ceremonies, Mr. Cowles spoke briefly, expressing enthusiasm for the League's program of



George H. Gallup, chairman of the League's Council, holds mortgage as Gardner Cowles sets it afire.

encouraging improvement of local and state government through the development of a responsible citizenry and gratification over the success of the All-America Cities awards program cosponsored by *Look Magazine* and the League.

Situated on a quiet street in an area which until recently was largely residential but which is rapidly being transformed into a neighborhood of consulates, nonprofit institutions and apartment houses, the League's building was named for the late Carl H. Pforzheimer, who served as treasurer for more than 35 years.

The quarters are considered ideal for the League's purposes, with a small auditorium on the fifth floor decorated and furnished by Mr. and Mrs. James M. Osborn in memory of his father, Clare Marshall Osborn, pioneer city manager, and the handsome Murray Seasongood Library, named for the famous former mayor of Cincinnati and former League president. In addition, there are four floors of offices, a guest suite on the top floor furnished by Thomas Graham, of Louisville, a League regional vice president, and generous

(Continued on next page)

NML Citizen Award Presented



President William Collins presents the League's Distinguished Citizen Award to Gardner Cowles, right, president and editor of *Look* Magazine.

Following the mortgage burning ceremonies of November 13, President William Collins presented the National Municipal League's Distinguished Citizen Award to Gardner Cowles, president and editor of *Look* Magazine for his "demonstration of responsible citizenship."

In the citation, Mr. Collins observed that Mr. Cowles' "high sense of civic responsibility has had a profound influence on national thought" through *Look*, the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*, the *San Juan Star*, and stations KRNT and KRNT-TV in Des Moines.

Mr. Collins added that through *Look's* co-sponsorship with the League of the All-America Cities program, "he has inspired citizens in hundreds of communities to improve their governments,

their schools, their homes and the foundations of their economy."

Mr. Cowles' interest in and support of the League's activities and his contributions to the improvement of schools and colleges through *Look* and his personal service on the boards of Columbia University's Teachers College, Drake University and the University of Miami also were cited.

Mortgage Burned

(Continued from previous page)

storage and mailing room space in the basement.

Search for a permanent home followed a series of moves caused by a lease which enabled public agencies to force the League's removal "to equal space" and finally by the purchase and demolition of the office building at the last previous address.

Nearly 300 members and friends of the League contributed to the funds to purchase the building and to remodel it in accordance with regulations governing the transfer of residential property to office use.

AMA Local Government Liaison Committee Enlarged

Four additional members have been added to the special liaison committee of the Local Government Law Section of the American Bar Association (see the *REVIEW*, November, page 522) to cooperate with the League in preparation of its models. They are: Thomas W. Evans, New York City; Leigh B. Hebb, Philadelphia; Arthur L. Shaw, Tusculumbia, Alabama; and Edward F. Taylor, San Bernadino, California.

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Published monthly except August by the National Municipal League

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Second-Class postage paid at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street Worcester 3; editorial and business office, Carl H. Plornheimer Building, 47 East 60th Street New York 21, N. Y. Copyright © 1961 by the National Municipal League. Subscription, \$5 per year Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50; single copies 30 cents. The contents of the Review are indexed in *Business Periodicals Index*, *Index to Legal Periodicals*, *International Index to Periodicals*, and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Editorial Comment

First Half Century

WITH this issue the REVIEW completes 50 years of continuous publication, for 47 years as the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and since January 1959 as the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW.

Establishment of such a journal was discussed at the first meeting of the National Municipal League's Board of Delegates in May 1894 and was considered at many subsequent meetings of League officials. It was in January 1912, however, that the magazine was first issued. It was changed from a quarterly to a bi-monthly in January 1917 and to a monthly in May 1919.

Clinton Rogers Woodruff, then secretary of the League, was the first editor, and Charles A. Beard, John A. Fairlie and Arthur Crosby Ludington were associate editors. The original Advisory Editorial Board consisted of 29 prominent political scientists and civic leaders, including Roger N. Baldwin, Richard S. Childs,¹ Frederick A. Cleveland, Horace E. Deming, Mayo Fesler, A. R. Hatton, Arthur N. Holcombe, Milo R. Maltbie, Charles E. Merriam, Edward M. Sait and E. A. Walcott.

In the first issue's "Salutation," the editors commented: "Believing, with Bernard Shaw, that 'man lives not by tramway statistics alone,' neither by political machinery alone, the editors will accord full treatment to municipal functions and welfare

enterprises as well as to ballot laws, charters and bureaus of municipal research. They approach their task profoundly convinced that 'the American city must be a city where the people diligently mind their own business and the public business and do both with a decent regard to the judgments and rights of others; a city where all men are not brought to the measure of one man's mind or to the heel of one man's will; a city where citizens are true and brave and generous and care for their own.'"

* * *

Although the REVIEW has never intended to be a "popular" magazine, many of its articles have been condensed in *The Reader's Digest* and quoted extensively in leading newspapers. Neither has it sought to be a "scholarly journal"; but it is cited in textbooks on government and in public affairs periodicals probably more than any other publication.

Primarily the REVIEW is a working tool for the civic leader, the student of government, the intelligent citizen, the dedicated public official and any others who, by keeping abreast of significant developments and accomplishments, can arm themselves for more effective service in their communities and states.

There is an abundance of testimony of its usefulness in contributing to the development of civic leaders, its role as a basic research source and its helpfulness to career public servants.

¹ A prime mover in establishing the REVIEW, Mr. Childs, for the last fifteen years a volunteer member of the League's staff, is still a contributing editor.

Especially rewarding to the editors have been the many letters like one from John A. Capinski of Bridgeport, Pennsylvania, who wrote: "Since reading the REVIEW each month, I have become active in local civic affairs. Now I am president of our civic association."

Typical of reactions from Leagues of Women Voters is that of Flora B. Surles, as secretary of the League of Women Voters of South Carolina: "I am eternally recommending the REVIEW to our members because it is always so packed with good information for those who are interested in good government."

Unsolicited accolades from outstanding experts include:

Harland Bartholomew, noted planner—"May I take this opportunity to say that you are doing fine work in keeping the magazine so full of valuable articles and news. The format is especially good and quite easy reading compared with many other magazines."

Harold V. Miller, executive director, Tennessee State Planning Commission—"This agency has for a number of years counted the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW among the MUST publications in its library. All new copies are circulated to staff members most concerned before becoming part of the permanent collection."

T. E. Thompson, Nebraska High-

way Commission—"In my opinion, it is the best publication in the field. Your articles are very interesting as well as informative."

Clark D. Ahlberg, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University—"I have been a reader of the REVIEW for a long time and have never failed to find worthwhile material in its issues."

John F. Willmott, executive vice president, San Antonio Research and Planning Council—"Let me take this occasion to tell you how closely I read the REVIEW and your other publications and how helpful I find them. We draw upon them constantly."

* * *

W. Scott Christopher, general manager, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce—"I did not anticipate that this investment would pay dividends so quickly. In the June issue I was delighted to find three articles which dealt directly with the problems now confronting our community."

Yes, some mail is less laudatory and reminds those spending their days writing and editing that there is always room for improvement. With the generous assistance of unpaid authors and of equally unpaid correspondents in every state, the struggle to harmonize performance and constantly rising costs goes on.

To Aid the Small City

Local governments, although vigorous, called in greater need of technical help than large areas.

By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY*

IT IS true that the proposed Department of Urban Affairs will confer cabinet departmental status on the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

But it will do much more. It will elevate the level of national attention to the problems caused by deterioration of our major cities and explosive population growth in their neighboring suburbs and exurban areas.

It will provide an urban spokesman at the Cabinet table and in the highest councils of government to participate in the decisions which vitally affect our cities and all our local governments.

The department will more efficiently and effectively organize the housing and urban functions of the federal government.

It will provide federal leadership and coordination in the great undertakings of the late twentieth century to achieve the maximum effectiveness of the federal system by constructive and successful intergovernmental cooperation to furnish local services to the American people in the most efficient and economic manner available.

And finally—but perhaps foremost

—the Department of Urban Affairs and Housing will be authorized to conduct the necessary research to give technical advice and research assistance to states and local governments to aid them in solving the complex urban problems which beset communities of every size in the 1960s. The federal government has had outstanding success, particularly in the fields of business and agriculture, in the research programs initiated by the Congress. The massive problems now confronting urban areas, which contain approximately three-fourths of our national population, deserve and require the same kind of expert research and technical attention to achieve proper solutions.

The *Report* of the Committee on Government Operations demonstrates statistically the immense scope of local government in providing the municipal services required by our expanding and mobile population. It describes the labyrinth of local governments, now numbering more than 100,000, which has arisen to cope with urban problems.

The committee examined: (1) The vitality of local government and found it to be vigorous; (2) the scope of local responsibility and found it to be enormous; (3) the local jurisdictional authority to cope with problems of swift urbanization and found it to be fragmented and diffuse with a resulting diminution of the tax base necessary to support

* Senator Humphrey is majority whip in the United States Senate and chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Reorganization and International Organizations of the Government Operations Committee, which conducted the hearings and reported favorably on S. 1633, the bill to establish a Department of Urban Affairs. He was formerly mayor of Minneapolis.

local activities and provide necessary services; and (4) the pattern of federal assistance and found it to be scattered and not *readily accessible* through clear and simple channels to the cities, villages and towns—and to the citizens—it is designed to help.

The committee concluded that establishment of a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing in the Cabinet will improve efficient management of federal urban functions; make federal programs more readily accessible to state and local governments; provide essential research assistance to aid state and local governments to provide municipal services on a local basis more effectively and efficiently; and lead and coordinate intergovernmental action and cooperation within the web of governments which has arisen to govern state and local affairs.

* * *

This summary correctly expresses the weight of the testimony at the hearings on the bill before the subcommittee of which I am chairman. Serious concern was expressed by local public officials, who must cope in their day-to-day tasks with the vast and challenging urban problems, that the federal structure be simplified and be made more understandable and more readily accessible to local governments because of the complexity of the problems involved.

Consider for a moment the magnitude of local governmental responsibility in the United States.

America's metropolitan areas now include more than three-fifths of our national population and this proportion will swiftly increase in the years ahead. Urban areas include three-

fourths of the population in a nation which even in our own lifetime has been predominantly agricultural. The migration of our farm population to urban centers, the wonderful scientific achievements which have lengthened the life span, and the continued high birth rate since World War II have joined forces to provide us with an urban population that will continue to grow in number and proportion and will multiply the complexity of urban problems to be faced through the remaining decades of the twentieth century.

America's 102,000 local governments spend \$40 billion annually, of which they receive nearly \$10 billion in payments from state governments. This represents more than one-third of all state general expenses. Local public debt now stands at approximately \$40 billion, a three-fold increase in less than twenty years. The combined state and local public debt approaches the \$55 billion mark.

Municipalities received \$12.5 billion in 1957, spent \$12.8 billion, borrowed \$2.7 billion, paid \$1.2 billion of prior debt, and total municipal indebtedness reached \$19.1 billion. By 1957 townships alone owed \$1 billion.

Local governments employed 4,429,000 persons in 1957, 3,439,000 of them full time. This is about one-half of all public employment. *State and local governments accounted for the entire increase in public employment for the five-year period immediately preceding 1957.* This may be of some surprise to those who are impressed with the size and scope of the federal establishment. Municipalities alone employ 18.2 per

cent of all public employees. The April 1957 payroll for all local governments was in the neighborhood of \$1.25 billion. Of this, standard metropolitan area payrolls totalled \$835 million. The committee expressed its conclusion in the *Report* that "the potential savings in the future by research and technical assistance to state and local governments to assist them in meeting their problems can be of great significance."

Examine then the vast web of governments which furnish local services to our people. David E. Bell, director of the budget, testified at the hearings that metropolitan areas include approximately 16,000 units of government, or about 80 for each metropolitan area. While this figure is significant, it is at least equally striking that this fragmentation of jurisdictional authority and this diffusion of tax sources is at least equally prevalent in rural America and in urban communities of every size.

* * *

Think of this for a moment:

My state of Minnesota, which contains the Twin Cities metropolitan community of nearly one and a half million people, is nevertheless not one of the most populous states containing a large metropolitan complex. Indeed, in the shifting population, we lose a congressional seat in the present reapportionment of Congress. Yet Minnesota ranks third nationally in the number of units of government. In the Twin Cities metropolitan area we have 130 municipalities and 21 townships in seven counties.

I cite this example not only because it is more familiar to me than the experience of other states but,

more importantly, because it defines the urgent necessity of strong inter-governmental ties to solve local problems. This is so not only in the industrial states of the eastern seaboard or the far west but also in the agricultural heartland of America where Nebraska, Illinois and Minnesota lead the nation in the number of units of government. If there are 80 units of government on the average in each metropolitan area, there is yet more government, with more jurisdictional fragmentation and with greater diffusion of the tax resources necessary to furnish services to the public, in small urban communities and the surrounding agricultural areas than in the major metropolitan centers.

I cite this because I serve Minnesota, a state with great cities but also with small villages and urban towns seeking to cope with the problems which arise when the developers and subdividers move in and transform agricultural acres into streets, curbs and gutters and, all too frequently, forget to leave the necessary open spaces to serve the aesthetic and recreational needs of the people for whom the houses are built.

The small villages and urban towns of my state need a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing perhaps much more than do the two major cities which I represent. Large cities have well staffed departments of professional and technical people to take full advantage of the federal programs to assist in solving the new problems which have come with the urban transformation.

But the small suburbs whose boundaries are choked off by a sec-

ond or third ring of suburbs, so that no additional tax base is on the horizon, are not equally staffed or prepared to avail themselves of the federal programs designed to help them in their struggle to survive. The same is true with equal force of urban communities in a rural setting.

What does this mean in terms of congressional action?

It means this: Once the Congress has determined that a function is properly within the scope of federal action, it owes it to the suburbs and to the smaller communities to make those programs as readily accessible to small communities as to the major metropolitan cities.

* * *

I therefore reject any suggestion that the bill to establish a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing is a big city bill. While the twin pincers of decay and explosive growth probe the major cities and the suburbs, and cause problems which are perhaps more aggravated in the metropolitan centers, the difficulty of dealing with the federal government is at least as great, perhaps greater, in the suburbs and the smaller communities.

We miss the vital point if we argue that equity requires that, if farmers have a Department of Agriculture, city dwellers deserve a Department of Urban Affairs. This feeds the flame of those who suspect that the new department will serve only the major cities. It distracts from logic and appeals to emotion by implying that the purpose of the new department is to increase the political influence of the cities or enlarge their share of the national budget.

We misread the nature of the ur-

ban revolution if we see it only in terms of the tasks it creates for major cities. The problems of urban economics and sociology and the provision of services to a substantially increased population are not problems of bigness but of growth.

Many of our major cities whose boundaries are completely circumscribed by suburbs have no further room for growth. They are not as distressed by size or growth as they are concerned by the need of revitalization of the central core through such spectacular programs as urban renewal, which has refurbished the downtown areas of our great cities. This remarkable facelifting is now taking place in the lower loop of my city of Minneapolis which I had the privilege of serving as mayor. To those who have lived in that city for a lifetime, this will be not only a physical renewal of a blighted and downtrodden area at the central core of a city which has lived for a century but it will also be a miracle of the spirit that our government is revitalizing—breathing new life into the city when the weight of the years has grown heavy on its shoulders. Spectacular renewal and revival have occurred in the loop areas of Pittsburgh, Detroit and other great cities.

But the problems of growth strike equally at smaller cities or towns and villages. An example in my own state is Rochester, the rapidly growing home of the Mayo Clinic and St. Mary's Hospital. Swift population growth creates new developments outside the boundaries of the principal city there, the same as in cities several times larger.

The agricultural population has a

great stake in finding constructive solutions to urban problems. This occurs for at least two reasons:

(1) The continuing movement of farmers to urban communities because the rapid mechanization of agriculture, whether we like it or not, forces those displaced from the soil to relocate in urban communities. They must find houses and deal with the federal agencies created to assist with urban tasks. If we correlate our federal programs and increase their efficiency by placing them in a Cabinet department, we will assist the migrant farmers who must henceforth make their way in the cities.

(2) The vexatious problem which results at the outer perimeter of an urban area, where agricultural land under rural township government is developed and subdivided into new housing developments, soon requires annexation to an existing city or the creation of a new municipal corporation. The problem of protecting those still farming land immediately adjacent to such residential developments from paying municipal taxes to help provide municipal services to those newly settled in these housing developments is an important one. In every state with a city of substantial size this problem is encountered on the pivotal land which is being rapidly transformed from agricultural to urban use. Incidentally, the figures of the Bureau of the Census show that we have metropolitan areas in 46 of the 50 states.

The national interest requires that in resolving the vital issues of survival, we take account of the important voice of our cities, towns and villages which have transformed our

countryside from a peaceful, agricultural scene to a busy row of cities and urban communities which stretch across the land, with new housing developments, commercial and business establishments, and humming industrial activity where the farmer tended his crops just a few years ago.

If we suffer nuclear attack, our major cities and industrial centers will furnish the target. Thus great decisions of national defense and survival require a voice at the highest council tables of government to speak for the urban people who make up three-fourths of our nation, and to serve as a connecting link between the top level of our national government and the people who live in the neighborhoods and communities of America.

* * *

No problem we face is all of a piece. All of our most challenging tasks have an effect upon virtually every element of our population and our social and economic life. The Congress and the President and his Cabinet are the forums where the national interest in problems of every kind are considered and resolved. Our cities and all our urban communities are entitled to a voice in Cabinet deliberations.

Indeed, the greatest political challenge of the remaining decades of the twentieth century is to adapt our federal system to a changing technology, a transformation from an agricultural to an urban and industrial society, and a swift moving world where we must act quickly, correctly and with authority.

Through the length and breadth of

(Continued on page 600)

The Miraculous City

With the cards stacked against it Metropolis needs new approach to resolve its problems.

By PAUL N. YLVISAKER*

IN recent months a city has been forced by international events to become the decisive pawn in the present chess game of man's destiny and to shoulder the eternal problem of war or peace. As if Berlin—or any city—didn't already have problems enough!

But, if the issue of war or peace must be faced, I for one am relieved that it will be posed in the context of the city. For the everyday realities of urban life hold some hope of pricking the balloons of ideological conflict and of reducing argument to agreement. Anyone who would argue theory in the context of the city can't go more than a few hours without getting constructively concerned with such practical questions as whether the water pressure is adequate and the sewers run clear.

Because of this earthiness, the city is a steady influence in world politics and has already shown a staying power that will do much to keep the human animal a creative part of nature's order for a long time.

* Dr. Ylvisaker is director of the Public Affairs Program of The Ford Foundation, where his particular area of concern is urban and regional planning. He was formerly executive secretary then consultant to the mayor of Philadelphia and professor of political science at Swarthmore College. In 1953-54 Dr. Ylvisaker was staff director of the Inter-University Case Program at Swarthmore and is author of several of its publications. This article is based on his address before the World Traffic Engineering Conference, Washington, D. C., August 21, 1961.

As you can see, I'm an optimist—and a poor choice, perhaps, to discuss urban problems, past and future. For I've noticed that the approved way to talk about cities these days is to speak solemnly, sadly, ominously and fearfully about their problems. You really don't rate as an expert on the city unless you foresee its doom; the city must, of course, always be in crisis and on the verge of catastrophe; no one should ever give it more than a 50-50 chance to survive past tomorrow.

I've preached plenty of these sermons of doom myself. But standing helpless before the misery of the 650,000 citizens of Calcutta who have nowhere else to sleep but on the streets, running for my life in the madness of Parisian traffic, packed like a sardine in the stalled subways of Manhattan, left incredulous by the logical impossibility of any tomorrow for Hong Kong—in the middle of all this, the simple reality that these cities *do* exist, that they exist because people have chosen that they exist and grow because increasing numbers of people are choosing to live in them—this simple reality has forced me to ask whether it isn't about time we view the city of the twentieth century as less a set of problems than as a substantial human success.

This is easy enough to demonstrate in the more affluent societies by the simple act of contrast. Take a dis-

satisfied citizen, say a taxpayer of Toronto who has just been given the bill for the new subway system, or a voter from Miami disenchanted with Metro, or a commuter late again on the New Haven, or an Oxford don fresh from seeing the plans for a new highway across his favorite college grounds, or a pedestrian in The Hague pinned by a twenty-foot automobile against the medieval wall of a ten-foot street. Take any one of these to the squatters' settlements of Karachi or through the slums of Rio and he will return thoroughly chastened, wondering why he should ever have thought his mother city had problems worth mentioning.

* * *

But more squarely, ask the least fortunate in any urban setting, affluent or underdeveloped—the Negro ghettoed in New York or London, or the bustee walla of Old Delhi—ask whether he would choose to return to the rural area from which he or his people came and the answer far more often than not is a revealing no. *The city is his choice for, if it has not given him perfection, it has given him progress; and if not progress, it has offered hope; and if not much hope, it has meant survival.*

The twentieth century city has managed to be this symbol and sanctuary for staggering numbers of the world's exploding population. How Hong Kong has done it, no one quite knows; it's a miracle no less than the feeding of the five thousand with but five loaves of bread and two fishes. The American city has served almost as dramatically; it has been the agent of a surprisingly peaceful revolution which has made a nation of farmers into a nation of urbanites,

broken up the single ghetto of the Negro south into a liberating diffusion of dissolving ghettos in far-flung cities across the country, and brought the children of backwoods and backwater bondage into the mainstream of American life. Already the European city is breaking its rigidities to admit the first contingents of an international labor force whose mobility will be an essential of a united continent and a common market. Japanese cities have risen phoenix-like from the ashes; Tokyo, a cemetery of men and buildings only fifteen years ago, has not only been rebuilt but has also become the largest city in the world and is absorbing 300,000 new citizens annually.

The twentieth century city has also survived the staggering impact of modern science and technology. Painfully, and imperfectly, yes. But from one logic of the railroad and the workshop in the loft to the radically different logic of the truck and the horizontal factory, the industrialized city has suffered the pangs of an almost complete metamorphosis and survived. An even greater metamorphosis is in store for the cities of the less industrialized nations, and even greater travail. Yet one can see already the emerging signs of ultimate success—though these signs are easier to find in the abstracted statistics of national growth in India and Pakistan than when one stands in the present squalor of their cities and tries to discern it.

By now, recalling all that you have known and heard and seen of decaying and deserted cities, you're probably muttering that I'm not only an optimist, I'm daft. I'm not. Admit

the problems but don't let them obscure the important fact that the twentieth century city—or by its new name, the metropolis—has already done what two generations of prophets have said was impossible—it has survived and, in more cases than not, it has prospered.

Frankly, we haven't consciously done much to help the city in its travail; mostly we've sinned against it. Let me cite our major transgressions:

1. We have opposed and ignored the city and stacked the political cards against it. Rural domination of public revenue and policy has been an almost universal fact of life; whether in West Virginia or in West Bengal, the fact applies and the effects are evident. The city has been the late, lamented and abandoned child of aging rural parentage. Even now, with the prospect of literally hundreds of millions to be added in the world's urban population in the next generation, with the 1960 census already showing Americans with a giant eastern city of 31 millions, and with cities of 50-100 millions but a generation away, public policies of industrialized nations and the five-year plans of industrializing nations alike are weighted heavily in favor of rural schemes and investments. Like crabs, we are walking backwards into our urban future and begrudging every step along the way.

2. We have shackled the city in rusty jurisdictional chains.

Baseball fans are far more realistic than the devotees of municipal law. In the language of baseball, Kansas City means Kansas City—the whole market shed of paid attendance which flows in from two states and hundreds

of surrounding communities. But try to operate a common sewage or revenue system over that same area and you'll find yourself far out in left field and in a quite different ball park.

Nature made one harbor for Han-shin and another in Tokyo Bay but Japanese politics has divided those single harbors into four and five independent port authorities.

Calcutta has one port, one river, one future; but 40 municipalities will have to find agreement before that future is made into anything better than another today.

* * *

3. We have set loose on the city the raw forces of technological change, given the city no advance warning, done little to cushion the impact and developed no feedback mechanism to adapt technological developments rationally to the city's necessities. Cities have been made to adapt to transportation systems rather than transportation systems to cities. Housing and public works technology has been developed for the most part in the image of producer interests, rarely by a calculated schedule of community needs. Billions are being spent by nations to send man to the moon or to his final destruction; it's already got to the point when a cosmonaut can make it round the world in the time it takes a suburbanite to get to work or a traveller to get from downtown to the airport. Meanwhile, the principal United States agency for urban affairs could barely scrape through Congress this year with a research appropriation of \$375,000—a Congress, incidentally, that ap-

proved \$77 millions for research relating to agriculture. By comparison—but only by comparison—we needn't be ashamed: you won't find more than a handful of the world's nations that are spending even proportionally as much.

4. Most seriously, we have obscured the humane purpose of the city by emphasizing its real estate. "The city is the people": that's a noble charge which has been honored more in the breach than in the observance. Examine the literature on the city and the substance of action programs and you will find them dominated by a concern with physical plant. The going criteria of urban success are the beauty and solvency of the city's real properties, not the condition of the people who flow through them. As a result, the civilizing and ennobling function of the city, mainly its job of turning second-class newcomers into first-class citizens, is downgraded into pious pronouncements and last-place priorities. We despair of our wasting city property and count the costs of urban renewal in building values. These are nothing compared to the wasting resources of the human beings who get trapped in these aging buildings and the value of their lost contribution to their own and the world's society.

5. The search for the public interest, the common welfare of the city, is always an elusive one, but we have done a first-class job of thoroughly confusing it. We have divided the city into pieces, let it become a jungle of competing objectives and conflicting codes of ethics, and then blithely assumed that by some undefined process our several

self-interests would add up to the common benefit. This is another case of man seeing a guiding hand that may or may not be there. Judging from the growing disorder about us, I'm not so sure the faith is justified. And the logic isn't so good either: does it follow that if downtown commercial and industrial development is subsidized to help the central city and its business district more effectively compete with suburban development, which is also subsidized, that the general interest of the larger community is thereby benefited? The stirring arguments for these two pieces of supposed urban progress are best heard separately; as anyone who has had to deal with such competing claims knows, you can define a civic enthusiast as one who has listened to one appeal and a skeptic as one who has been around long enough to listen to two.

* * *

As I say, we have divided the city into the separate realms of our several self-interests; the city has been subjected to a feudalism which doesn't even have the saving grace of a central sovereign to bind it together. Berlin is a dramatic and catastrophic example but the sectionalism which underlies it is everywhere. Travel the Yamate Loop Line in Tokyo and you will find the separate baronies of railroad and department store developments into which that metropolitan area is divided. Live a day with the mayor of any city and count the beseeching delegations who want the community rebuilt or the veto groups that want it preserved, each in its own image. Or consult the professions and the experts and you will find that the

same feudal instinct has infected the intellect: the architect, the economist, the sociologist, the political scientist—each has staked out his claim to the whole city and, not getting the whole, has claimed a piece and made himself king.

Humpty-Dumpty—and can all the world's horses and all the world's men ever put the city together again?

Well, I don't know about all the world's horses (they're probably saying "I told you so" out in the pastures to which the traffic engineers have relegated them), but I do know that more and more of the world's men seem ready to try. From Auckland to Zagreb, from Venice to Venezuela, there's working evidence of concern with our cities that is moving the urban problem toward the top of the public priority list where it belongs. Items:

The United States is seriously considering cabinet rank for its housing agency, making it a Department of Urban Affairs;

Japan, as a developed nation, broke new ground last year by asking the United Nations to provide technical assistance in planning the development of one of its major urban regions;

West Bengal has created a metropolitan planning agency for Calcutta, requesting assistance from the World Bank, the World Health Organization, the Government of India and a full range of technical advisors internationally recruited to help prepare a 25-year development plan for the entire metropolitan area;

Bangkok has completed a master plan; Brazil and Pakistan are building new capital cities; Baghdad, Athens, Lagos, Khartoum, Amsterdam—these are but a few of the

lengthening list of the world's cities which are taking serious thought for their urban tomorrow.

I'm convinced that man will have to do far more than he has to plan his urban future. But my experience tells me there's no use dodging the harsh realities or palming off the art of planning as the sure-fire cure of a new breed of medicine men.

* * *

Planning is politics, but it is even more than that. Politics has the job of reconciling the known past with the known present; planning has to make both the past and present compatible with an unknown future. If politics is the art of the possible, planning comes close to being the art of the impossible. Even closer than that, because planning must also provide for the person who is affected by your decisions but can't vote in your elections. This may be the generation yet unborn, the unemployed youth of your cities who are old enough to worry but too young to vote, the forgotten neighbors in the gray area whom you have gerrymandered out of your suburb, and such distant and unfamiliar neighbors as those I've seen in Calcutta whose circumstance is now haunting the rest of the world with the question whether we shall be Pharisee or Good Samaritan.

Close to impossible, yes; but planning in that sense is no different from any of our arts and endeavors that have man and his welfare as their uncertain objectives. The art of planning in the twentieth century is admittedly about where the art of medicine was in the sixteenth. If there is a difference it is that we are much less naive than the medical

scientists who began their rational assault on disease four centuries ago.

We can use this sophistication to speed the development of the planning art, not least by perfecting and exploiting nature's subtle process of balance and playing down the childish notion of total solutions. There will never be total solutions to urban problems for the simple reason the future is never finished, there are not enough resources or human agreements to make everybody happy, one man's solution is another man's problem.

We ought to be talking about resolving urban problems, not about solving them, for I know of no problem affecting cities which does not basically involve conflicts, contradictions, incompatibilities and differences—not so much between goodies and bad-ies (in fact, rarely so) but between more or less decently motivated persons and groups of persons whose self-interests must be tempered, shaped and melded if the city is to be anything more than the plaything of the man with the biggest army or the most money or the most capacity for mischief, villainy or seduction.

This means driving a balance, too, between analysis and action. Cities are caught now between the extremes of contemplation and performance. Judging from the enthusiasm with which research has lately been welcomed by planners and politicians alike, we're in the stage where a study is worth a thousand deeds. The fact is, a study may make a thousand deeds unnecessary and another thousand deeds possible—by correctly redefining a problem or preparing

the community to accept action which otherwise would be voted down. But that's not always the intent of those who commission studies and there comes a point where someone must take responsibility and act.

Someone must see to it that Calcutta's millions have potable water, jobs and housing; these won't come by contemplation. Some way must be found to satisfy Japan's hunger for urban land and her need for better transport and public facilities; her cities cannot grow on research papers alone.

* * *

I am arguing for three things—more research, more action and a better balance between them. So far, we have been dealing with an equation of zero quantities—compared to the size of the problem we have and will have as the world adds 50 million people to its population each year, most of them to its urban areas.

Another balance, another resolution we have to achieve, is between our urban and rural points of view. Too long a domination by one has led to a weakening of the other; the political extremism and the mediocrity of many urban delegations in state and provincial legislatures is the price many countries of the world are now paying for that domination. But fact no longer accords with fiction; there is no meaningful distinction between what is rural and what is urban. And it is about time we revised our constitutions, our revenue systems and our systems of legislative apportionment to accord with fact.

Next year the United States will celebrate the hundredth anniversary

of its Morrill Act, which established a national network of agricultural colleges and in effect declared to the world that a nation could intelligently plan for its agricultural future. It would be a gesture of world-wide significance if the celebration of that centennial were to be devoted to a resolution of rural and urban points of view and to constructive suggestions as to how a nation in the next century can make its cities as productive as this country in the last century has made its farms.

We have also to create a working harmony on urban problems among our several levels and agencies of government. National—even international—policies cannot be effective without being translated into urban programs; and the city is helpless without state, national and even international assistance.

* * *

In the United States practically the whole domestic program of the current administration—and of any future administration—hinges on the problems and the programs of the nation's metropolitan areas. Until now both urban and national programs have been piecemeal. It would be a dramatic and productive step forward if at least a handful of urban areas were designated for experiments in joint policy and program development—to create more employment opportunities for youth, to improve educational systems especially in the gray areas of the central city, to develop more effective ways of preventing and treating delinquency and crime and, not least, to begin moving toward the elements of a national urban policy, without which a De-

partment of Urban Affairs will be an empty gesture. The moneys for such a venture in joint action and experiment are already available in a multitude of separate urban, state and national appropriations. What remains is for someone to take the initiative—and in the interest of local self-government I would hope the initiative came from our local officials.

There are other resolutions to be achieved, not least between the representatives of the older core and the newer growth areas of the metropolis—call them suburb and central city. Very few nations are strangers to this growing incompatibility, to the problem of how to allocate resources between the areas of growth and decay. The United States is about to create a Department of Urban Affairs but its principal political support—and therefore its preoccupations—lie in the older parts of the city. This balance of concern may be healthy if it simply reflects the greater urgency of the human problems of the core, but it would be regrettable if the immediate political facts of life forced the agency to take the central city's side in the shortsighted battle between downtown and suburban self-interests.

A balance must be struck between mass transit and the private automobile and between rubber and rail, though by now the automobile has so thoroughly imbedded itself in the urban systems of the West that I fear any balance will be a onesided one. I would guess, too, that the same will eventually happen in Madras and Moscow, when per capita income reaches the point where their residents can make a first down payment. I shall never forget the uncertainty of

a Soviet economist when he watched Americans coming to work one in a car and said, "We'll never make that mistake—that is, if we can help it." The last I heard, Moscow was building a circumferential highway.

But there is another part of the transportation balance which I hope can still be struck more evenly—between obsolescence and new technology. So far, neither the railroads nor the automotive industries have provided a research and development process geared to the developing needs of the urban community; it looks like the airlines will follow suit. Each is well on the way to painting itself into an urban corner. By some device, an urban transportation research and development process must be created in this and other countries if we are to have something more than the dead-end evolution which made railroads of the U.S. eastern seaboard unable to survive changes in the urban environment.

* * *

Another resolution must be found between the physical and human needs of the city. I will risk exaggeration to make a point: my rule would be that we devote most of our available public resources to human improvements within the central city and on physical improvements in the suburbs. From the governmental point of view, the elbowroom for producing major physical changes within the older area of the city is very small. Money spent in educating children of the gray area, orienting newcomers whose income restricts them to obsolescent housing, providing job skills and opportunities and

the like will have vastly greater returns than money spent on physical improvements. There must obviously be a combination of both but I would stand fast by the suggested priority.

On the city's periphery, in the growth and open areas, one does have elbowroom to create new urban form and exploit new technology. Here one can experiment with physical planning with the prospect of broad effect and wide adaptation. But, for the most part, our physical planners have been working downtown, with at best the prospect of changing only 3 per cent of the physical plant in any one year. Meanwhile, at the periphery, our new money is being spent by a hodge-podge of investors, largely on the basis of short-range returns and yesterday's standards.

The final balance I would urge is that between self-interest and the public interest. This is the moral question which every philosopher of the city has raised, beginning with Plato and St. Augustine, and none of us will ever fully resolve it.

The city's greatest problem is the temptation it holds for one group to better its situation at another's expense. In the vast anonymity of the city, in its confusion of cause and effect, in its capacity to survive and forget and accommodate, the temptation becomes enormous. But nobility dies with each man's surrender and with it the faith on which the city is built and which it holds as a promise to all who come to live in it—the belief and the hope that there is more to life than the raw, self-centered Darwinian struggle for survival.

Want to Be Elected?

Successful vote-getters give advice on ways of enlisting your neighbors' support in campaigns.

By MARTIN ABRAMSON*

ONE evening about two years ago a tall, dark-haired, community-minded young mother named Marie Santagata got a telephone call from a group of home owners who called themselves the Efficiency party of Westbury, Long Island. Would Marie care to run for trustee of the village of Westbury? Marie ordinarily commands an impressive arsenal of words but this time she reacted like the shy maiden of the melodramas who gets an unexpected proposal and can't think of anything to say—except, of course, "This is so sudden."

Once the element of surprise wore off and Marie regained her usual self-possession, she decided she'd indeed like to run. The political sages of Westbury greeted this decision with a loud and meaningful yawn. The village had been under the control of one political group for eons and, as a candidate of a "rump" party, Mrs. Santagata was at a decided disadvantage.

Besides, she was a woman, and no

female representative had ever been elected to legislative office in Westbury. Like most of the suburban communities in the New York metropolitan area, Westbury had always considered females undesirable (or ineligible) for public stewardship. Therefore, this woman's race was classed as nothing more than spirited exercise.

To the astonishment of almost everyone in town—including, probably, the Efficiency party itself—Marie not only won her election but rolled up a margin large enough to cause the surprised *Westbury Times* to headline the event with two giant words—"OH MARIE!" To prove this was no fluke, Marie ran for reelection with fellow Efficiency candidate Tom Johnson and amassed another large plurality. Her male compatriots on the village board were so impressed that they broke another precedent and gave the woman trustee the extra chore of serving as commissioner of police and public safety—probably the only such post in the country held by a female.

Until recently the mere act of running under the Republican emblem in villages that have the elephant-donkey political setup, or being chosen as candidate of the "old settlers" group in other communities, was all that was necessary to get elected to local office. But the floods that have washed new populations into Suburbia and that have created the

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headaches of helter-skelter growth and high taxes have also done violence to established political mores. More and more fresh faces are replacing in office the familiar personalities who used to get elected by force of habit.

"After the scandals investigations of recent years here, people became a lot more mature politically," says James E. Jarvis, chairman of the Fusion Economy party of Huntington, Long Island. "We're getting more discerning people to the polls in suburban communities these days and they aren't interested so much in party as they are in individuals who, they feel, can give them the best government at the lowest cost per tax dollar."

"We tell the members of our organization that they have to go out and prove their value to the community before they can be considered for nomination to office," says John R. Dunne, president of the Republican Recruits of Nassau County, New York. "Just being a party worker isn't, in my opinion, enough to warrant even a nomination anymore—let alone an election."

"The day of the cut-and-dried local election is past," says Mrs. Helene Rosenberg, vice chairman of the town of Eastchester Democratic Committee in Westchester County, New York. "We've elected Democrats in some staunchly Republican villages when we were able to show that they could provide better government than the incumbents."

Could *you* get elected to local public office? On the basis of conversations with local officials, political leaders, civic leaders and the League

of Women Voters in Westchester, Long Island, New Jersey and Connecticut, we're ready to say that you can—provided you have or can develop certain personality traits and are willing to follow a specific program of action. "We desperately need new blood in many of our local offices," says a League of Women Voters official in Bergen County, New Jersey. "And the blood should be not only new but also capable."

* * *

The attributes are these:

1. An outgoing manner.
 2. An affinity for mixing and getting along with people.
 3. A forceful voice that carries and a habit of expressing decisive opinions. "Voters don't want a shilly-shallier in office; they want someone who represents leadership," a Westport, Connecticut, selectman points out.
 4. An ability to listen patiently to others and give their remarks thoughtful appraisal.
 5. Plenty of free time and an understanding spouse who doesn't mind your spending that time on public business.
- "My wife *does* mind the time but I've appeased her by turning over to her my stipend as mayor the minute I get it," says Sidney Haber, commuter-mayor of Cedarhurst, Long Island.
- "My wife objects too but my job doesn't pay anything, so I've just cultivated the habit of not listening to her," says Joseph Dalfonso, mayor of Mamaroneck, New York. "I guess I'm an exception," he adds.
6. A full pocketbook, or friends with full pocketbooks, or a talent

for coaxing strangers with full pocketbooks to contribute to your campaign cause. "Inflation has come to local politics," says Eli Wager, former president of the Hempstead, Long Island, town civic council. "Today it costs thousands of dollars to run for the school board or even, in many cases, for sanitary commissioner. I know of a candidate who ran uncontested for the school board and yet spent \$2,500 to advertise himself. He was afraid of a write-in opposition."

7. A thick skin. Traditionally, village, school and local district elections have been considered Alphonse-and-Gaston affairs but the winds of change have made that too an obsolete concept. "It now takes more courage to run for a local office, in which you get very little for your public efforts, than for a well paid state or federal office," a Fairfield County, Connecticut, civic leader says.

"The local officeholder is the only remaining public official who'll sooner or later meet his critics face to face in the town hall," maintains Marie Santagata.

"The mud that's thrown in a local election is the hardest to take because it comes from your own people, not from outsiders," says Frank Bear, a veteran of Long Island school board service.

"A local election here is about as mild as a battle between a cobra and a mongoose," says a League of Women Voters worker in Stamford, Connecticut.

"It takes a particular brand of courage to run for office in a small town," says Matthew Feldman, may-

or of Teaneck, New Jersey. "The pressures exerted on local officials are considerable. New York City residents write or wire their complaints to the mayor but suburbanites simply pick up the telephone. They rightfully feel that the officials should be responsive to their needs, so we hear on the phone about sewers backing up, about stray dogs, about a skunk having been run over, about unplowed streets. Nevertheless, one Bergen County, New Jersey, mayor, who'd announced his decision not to run again because of hundreds of calls he received in the wake of a February snowstorm, changed his mind and was re-elected in May."

* * *

A former school board trustee in suburban New Jersey, who describes himself as a Republican, an Episcopalian and a fifth-generation American, heard himself called a "damned Red," an atheist and a "damned foreigner" when he advocated a hike in school expenditures during a bitterly fought school election. "I never ran for office again after that experience and you can bet your life I never will," he says.

"When election time gets close, there'll be whispers that you drink heavily, chase redheads, are in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service, or intend to use public office for your personal gain," says Jerry Kremer, assistant corporation counsel of Long Beach, Long Island, and an official of the Long Beach Young Democratic Club. "How do you fight these things? You don't spend your time going around denying the whispers, that's sure. Instead, you brush them off and paint a positive picture

of yourself so that people will forget the rumors."

This is your course of action:

Become a member, become active, become a leader of local organizations. "It's important to work in charity groups, in service organizations such as Kiwanis and Rotary, and in educational groups," says John Dunne. "But the most important field of activity for anyone interested in public life is the civic association. These associations get involved directly in problems of zoning, taxes, recreation, public improvement projects and the like, and experience in these areas is the right preparation."

See that your activities are publicized in the local press by sending out news releases. "It's important that *all* the people in the community, not just the members of your civic or charity group, get to know your name and what you're doing," says Eastchester's Mrs. Rosenberg.

Become affiliated with a church or synagogue as a worshipper and a worker. "People feel that their officials should be identified with an organized religious group," says Mayor Haber.

Once you've become established as a civic personality, a local political organization may tap you as good candidate material. If it doesn't, you'll have to become active in the organization to earn your nomination. If you're out of sympathy with the party or parties dominant in your community, form your own. In most areas only three people are required to form a political party legally.

"We formed the Independent party in Norwalk several years ago be-

cause we felt that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans were doing a job," says Peter Leavitt, a Norwalk, Connecticut, community leader. "That was the time of the teachers' strike—when our whole educational system was in danger. I'd been outspoken in public meetings about the failure of our local government to deal properly with education, to correct an inequitable tax system and to do a lot of things they should have been doing. So, when we started our own party, I was asked to run for councilman. I didn't think I had a chance; I ran as a token candidate—merely to present our case to the public. But we were able to convince the people that the status quo simply had to be changed and I ended up being elected and then re-elected several times."

* * *

Put color into your campaign. "If you can get volunteer help from somebody in publicity or advertising to dramatize your activities, it will help you considerably," says Julian Kane, an official of the Levittown, Long Island, Property Owners Association. "Too many of the brochures that are sent out in local campaigns are as dry as dust. Political literature that has an artistic presentation will get read instead of being dropped into the garbage. Anything that stimulates public interest and also gets across an important point can be used to advance a good cause. A restaging of the Boston Tea Party by candidates in Nassau County, who were protesting inequitable representation, got a lot of attention and something similar was done in Westchester. In Suffolk County, New

York, candidates who were demanding a cleanup of corrupt government made their point by having housewives parade in front of town hall with brooms."

Present a specific program. "Too many outs who want to get in base their whole campaign on the argument that the ins are no good and should be out," a White Plains, New York, Republican leader notes. "People in local communities don't fall for that. They want specifics; they want to be told just what the outs can do that the ins haven't done."

"The candidate we backed for supervisor—Bob Flynn—had plenty to say about the boss-ridden political machine he was fighting; but, more important, he had a program of action that the voters liked," says Huntington's James Jarvis. "Flynn said he was going to cut political padding and waste out of the government, adopt the first code of ethics for a township government in New York State, cut taxes, set up a new recreation program and institute planning studies to deal with the impact on the township of the sudden population growth. As supervisor he's done what he promised, which is the best way I know of for a man to get re-elected."

It should be noted here that the things you should not do when running for public office are as important to your political hopes as the things you should do. Suburban politicians of all stripes agree, for example, that you should not dwell on the problems of the Congo, Castro's Cuba, or unemployment in West Virginia's depressed areas when campaigning for local office.

"We had one candidate who was wonderfully eloquent when it came to discussing foreign affairs, but he acted as if he felt that garbage disposal and building codes were much too mundane for him; so when the election results came in he was trounced," a Rockland County, New York, political leader recalls.

It's important, too, when you're working in civic organizations with an eye toward a political future, that you don't give your civic associates the idea that you're exploiting them for personal gain.

"There's nothing wrong with having political ambition. But if you don't do your civic and charity work sincerely and you adopt the cynical approach—'This is all right for today but, thank God, I'll be done with it tomorrow'—the people you expect to have working for you later will instead mark you as a bad apple," says Dr. Jacob Freid of Woodmere, Long Island, professor of political science at the New School for Social Research.

* * *

Westbury's Marie Santagata recommends, surprisingly, that you *don't* ring doorbells. "It may be all right for the party workers, but not for the candidate himself," she says. "When I rang my first doorbell, the door opened and the cry of a young child, awakened from his nap by my ring, greeted me. When I rang my next bell, the door opened and out ran a dog with its mistress in hot pursuit. Having lost two votes, I decided to stop ringing and start meeting people instead at prearranged coffee parties, small house meetings, neighborhood socials and the like—

and also by asking for invitations to speak or debate before any and every local organization that would have me."

One final warning: If you finally win election to local office, don't expect caviar and cream. Garden City's Mayor William J. Maslanka devotes every night and most weekends to his village duties. In order to attend special luncheons or consult with county officials who work during the day, he'll sometimes leave his office in Manhattan (where he works as a production executive), take a midday train to Garden City, do whatever he has to do there, rush back to Manhattan, stay late at the office to catch up, take a late train home, bolt his supper, and then hurry to a night meeting.

Maslanka used to enjoy family outings with his wife and four children on weekends but since he became a mayor his outings, picnics and fishing dates with the youngsters have fallen by the wayside. Also public offices in local communities carry salaries ranging from zero to about \$2,750 a year; Maslanka is in the zero category and pays all his own expenses.

Then why should anybody want such a job?

"Primarily because it gives you a chance to perform a public service on behalf of all your neighbors and friends," says Maslanka. "If you don't care about public service, you

shouldn't get involved in local politics.

"Of course," he adds, "there's the factor of ego, too. When somebody comes up to me and says, 'Good morning, Mr. Mayor,' it makes me feel very good, very proud. After all, I'm only human."

TO AID THE SMALL CITY

(Continued from page 586)

our land, 102,000 units of government have been erected to meet our public responsibilities. The federal government must now furnish the leadership and the coordinating influence to the end that these are not 102,000 governments each pursuing its own course, but a unified force of federal, state and local governments, with school districts and special districts and all other mechanisms established to serve our people, seeking the common goal of bringing efficient, effective and economical services to our people.

Local government has never been more vigorous or effective than it is today. But it has never faced the monumental tasks in the past that it will face in the immediate decades ahead. Under our federal system, the national government owes it to its partners at the state and local level to assist them intelligently and effectively, not through a series of scattered bureaus and agencies which complicate instead of clarify their problems.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

H. M. Olmsted, Editor

New York City Charter Adopted

Will Go into Effect
On January 1, 1963

VOTERS in New York City at the November 7 election overwhelmingly approved a revised charter. It had been submitted to them by the charter commission appointed in April 1961 by Mayor Robert F. Wagner and headed by John T. Cahill, with Reuben A. Lazarus as counsel (see the REVIEW, September 1961, page 432). The vote (unofficial) was 687,711 in favor and 297,372 against.

The Cahill commission built largely on the two-year charter study by the Temporary State Commission on the Governmental Operations of the City of New York, headed by former Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore.

The revised charter, which takes effect in most respects on January 1, 1963, strengthens the office of mayor as chief executive and makes the city council the sole legislative body as to local laws. The council, now having 25 members elected from districts, is enlarged by adding ten borough-wide members, two from each borough; they will be elected in November 1963.

The board of estimate continues to consist of the mayor, council president, comptroller and the borough presidents, but its legislative functions, except budget adoption, go to the council and most of its administrative functions go to the mayor. Both it and the council may add or subtract budget items, but the mayor may veto such changes, subject to being overridden by a two-third vote of both bodies.

Most administrative functions of the borough presidents are transferred to the

mayor and his departments. Their jurisdiction over streets goes to a new department of highways and their control over sewers to the department of public works. The mayor is given the power, now held by the comptroller, to make the final estimate of the city's general fund in connection with budget preparation. The expense budget becomes a program budget, with more flexibility. The capital budget becomes an actual appropriating document.

Special assessments for new streets and sewers are abolished, effective January 1, 1962.

Two or more deputy mayors are provided; one will supervise the regular service departments so far as the mayor desires; another, who takes the place of the city administrator, is to have charge of the executive office of the mayor, which includes the budget director.

In addition to the charter question the New York City ballot carried two others. One is related to the charter; it seeks to insure minority representation in the election of the new borough-wide councilmen. The proposal carried, 620,420 to 304,782 (see also page 614, this issue).

The third question concerned freezing into the charter the present two-platoon system for firemen but with fewer hours per week. The proposal carried, but by a smaller margin than the others—573,756 to 402,605.

Charter Elections In Connecticut

Five Connecticut municipalities voted on charter questions on November 7.

The town of Fairfield approved a charter that strengthens the office of first selectman and modifies the composition of the representative town meeting. The vote was 6,427 to 2,838, out of a regis-

tration of 25,344. Greenwich, however, rejected a charter that sought to strengthen the first selectman's office and reduce the membership of the representative town meeting. The vote was 12,285 to 3,264, out of 28,948 registration.

The city of Norwalk rejected a charter providing for strong-mayor government; the mayor would have had authority to appoint a chief administrative officer. The vote was 10,112 to 3,256, out of 33,221 registration.

The city of Hartford voted 11,493 to 8,262 against a salary of \$1,000 for council members, but voted 12,546 to 6,021 to increase the number of council votes required for zoning changes.

Stamford voted to establish an appointive five-member health commission and also a patriotic and special events commission.

Charter Changes Voted in New Jersey

At the November 7 election several New Jersey cities and towns voted on charter changes.

Trenton, the state capital, voted out the existing commission plan and substituted the mayor-council-administrator form (Plan C under the Faulkner Act). The vote was 20,376 to 6,853. A mayor and a council of seven members will be elected on May 8.

Bayonne also adopted Plan C, by a vote of 16,104 to 2,966. It will elect five councilmen from wards and two at large on a nonpartisan ballot.

West Orange abandoned the commission plan and adopted mayor-council Plan B, 7,032 to 6,015. Three councilmen and the mayor will be elected in May on a nonpartisan ballot at large.

Charter studies by elected charter commissions were authorized in five communities: Orange, which now has the commission plan, and the townships of Madison, Ocean, Woodbridge and West Milford.

Westfield rejected, 6,170 to 4,800, a proposal to change from its existing mayor-council plan to the Faulkner strong mayor plan.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The International City Managers' Association announces adoption of the council-manager plan by the following municipalities not previously mentioned here: DECATUR, ALABAMA, (1960 population 29,217); TAMAQUA (10,173) and LOWER ALLEN township (7,000), PENNSYLVANIA; CARROLLTON (4,242) and LAKE PARK (3,000), TEXAS. Carrollton adopted the plan by a four-to-one referendum vote.

ALBEMARLE, NORTH CAROLINA, (12,261) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 822 to 385 on October 10. It was advocated by the present mayor-council administration and the Chamber of Commerce.

The city council of PINOLE, CALIFORNIA, (6,064) adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance in October, with a vote of three to one. A local committee has been organized in opposition and is seeking a referendum on the question.

* * *

At the annual town meeting of RANDOLPH, MASSACHUSETTS, in March, the town manager plan adopted in 1955 was voted out. At a special town meeting on October 22 a plan was adopted, subject to referendum of the full electorate, to increase the powers of the five selectmen, who would serve as a board of public works and appoint a public works superintendent responsible to it. The three-member boards of assessors, appeals, health, and planning, and the school committee would continue as elective positions, but all other town offices would be filled by appointment of the board of selectmen.

In LAKEWOOD, NEW JERSEY, the League of Women Voters and the Junior Chamber of Commerce have formed a Govern-

ment Revision Organization to circulate petitions for a vote on adopting Council-Manager Plan B, and to conduct a campaign of education.

LODI, NEW JERSEY, on November 7 rejected, 2,553 to 2,344, a proposal to abandon the council-manager plan in favor of mayor-council. The Democratic organization sought the change.

READING, PENNSYLVANIA, which has the commission form of government, voted 11,611 to 3,668 on November 7 for a charter study and elected eight members of a charter commission. The winning candidates had been endorsed by the Berks County Citizens' Association, which led the movement for a charter study. The city commission is to choose three other members for the commission. As alternatives to the existing form of government the commission may propose the mayor-council or the council-manager plan.

Four service clubs in DUBOIS, PENNSYLVANIA, have formed a permanent committee to promote the council-manager plan. The clubs are the Jaycees, Kiwanis, Lions and Rotary.

Petitions have been circulated in SOUTH CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA, asking for a special election at which to choose a committee to study forms of government for that city. The movement is led by Councilman Arch Schroonover, who advocates the council-manager plan. The council had defeated a proposed ordinance providing for the special election.

RICHMOND, KENTUCKY, defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan 974 to 767 on November 7.

BURLINGTON, IOWA, defeated on September 23 a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, 3,155 to 3,104. The League of Women Voters and the Citizens Committee for Council-Manager had campaigned for the plan. The effort will be continued by both organizations.

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI, will vote December 5 on a council-manager charter that includes a separately elected

mayor, who would vote with the council and would have no veto. Four councilmen would be elected from districts and two at large by nonpartisan ballot.

CHADRON, NEBRASKA, voted 781 to 451 in September to retain the council-manager plan, which it has had since 1950.

Connecticut Provides for Interstate Local Agreements

The 1961 Connecticut legislature adopted a statute concerning interlocal agreements between governmental units of Connecticut and other states. It provides that any public agency in the state may enter into interlocal agreements with any public agency or agencies of Connecticut or any other state or states, for the exchange or furnishing of services, personnel, facilities, equipment, etc., for fire prevention, utilities, garbage disposal, establishment of airports, parks, recreational facilities, etc.; air and water pollution control, public health, libraries, flood control, transportation and redevelopment.

New York Court Reorganization Adopted

Seven proposed amendments to the New York State constitution were headed by the new judicial article (see the REVIEW, May 1961, page 254), representing the major court reform in the state in 115 years and the result of many years of study and effort. Although not as far-reaching as desired by many, it simplifies the court system and provides central administrative control over state and local courts. It carried approximately five to one; in New York City, where the chief simplification occurs, the margin was seven to one. Its effective date is September 1, 1962.

The amendment establishes an administrative board, headed by the chief judge of the Court of Appeals, to set standards and policies for all courts, to be enforced by the four appellate divisions of the so-

called Supreme Court. This board, or the existing Judicial Conference similarly headed by the chief appeals judge, would receive the budget requests of all courts except those of municipalities outside New York City and forward them to the appropriating bodies with comments and recommendations. The present powers of certain courts in New York City to fix the numbers and salaries of their employees and require the city to pay them would be abolished.

In New York City there will be single city-wide courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, respectively, in addition to the Supreme Court of each of three judicial districts, one of which will comprise Queens County, heretofore combined with Nassau and Suffolk Counties.

A new statewide Family Court is provided. Outside New York City district courts, replacing existing city, village and town courts, may be created subject to local approval. Upstate county judges must relinquish private practice.

Other Amendments

Besides the court amendment three others were adopted. One gives greater flexibility as to reorganizing the executive branch. It provides for not more than twenty civil departments of the state government, without specific designations, whereas the constitution has specified twenty departments by name. The legislature, which has had the power to make changes in the powers and functions of the specific departments, can now abolish or change the nature of a department. Executive offices of the governor, outside the departments, are authorized. This amendment carried about three to one.

Two financial amendments were approved, one empowering the legislature to make the state liable for the payment of up to \$100 million of obligations of the Port of New York Authority to finance the purchase of railroad passenger equipment and to permit the leasing thereof to commuter railroads in the

New York metropolitan area. This won by about three to two. The other authorizes state loans to a Job Development Authority (already created by legislation) for the purpose of financing the construction and rehabilitation of industrial plants in areas of unemployment, and provides for pledging the state's credit to the bonds of the authority up to \$50 million. This carried by about five to three.

Three proposed amendments were defeated. One that would have permitted the submission to the voters of a state bond issue covering two or more specific purposes, during a period of economic recession, lost by a narrow margin. At present only one bond issue, restricted to a single purpose, may be submitted at one time; the proposal would have permitted a multi-purpose bond issue in addition.

A particularly controversial amendment would have permitted a pledge of state credit to a maximum of \$500 million of bonds of the State Dormitory Authority, which assists colleges, public and private, to construct dormitories and other buildings. There was no restriction against such state aid being given to religious educational institutions. The proposal had a slight majority in New York City but lost upstate. The total negative vote was about 53 per cent.

The third proposal to lose would have permitted encroachment on the Forest Preserve for the purpose of relocating part of an existing highway. It lost by about three to two.

New Mexico Approves Merit System; Other Amendments

New Mexico, long a stronghold of spoils politics, may be moving rapidly in the direction of efficient government. The 1961 legislature, which adjourned in March, voted in a weak merit system law which is becoming quite strong through executive interpretation and administra-

tion. Then on September 19, 1961, the people voted at a special election in favor of merit employment by approving proposed constitutional amendment No. 9, 25,915 to 23,417. This amendment, one of twelve proposed, corrects some wording which might have made the prior legislative enactment illegal. The opponents of merit employment confused matters rather thoroughly; otherwise the amendment might have won by a far more substantial margin.

Amendment No. 11, permitting the legislature to set qualifications for justices of the peace, was approved 30,045 to 19,746. The legislature, under the leadership of the Senate majority chief, has been taking many serious steps to clean up the justice-of-the-peace situation and this amendment opens the way for substantial reform.

No. 3, which permits the legislature to prescribe qualifications for mine inspectors, was approved 29,773 to 20,745.

New Mexico still remains an oddity in that it has no general absentee voting law. This is because the state constitution provides that there must be approval by three-fourths of all voters and at least two-thirds in each county before absentee balloting can go into effect. Proposed amendment No. 4, to permit absentee voting, secured over-all approval of 30,096 to 20,205, but failed because of the rigid constitutional requirements.

All other amendments failed to secure a majority vote.

No. 1, providing for four-year terms for state and county elective officials, lost 22,377 to 29,483. The tendency to make this a catch-all amendment may have contributed to its defeat.

No. 2, a rather technical proposal regarding the time limit within which the governor could submit proposed Highway Commission appointments to the State Senate, was defeated 24,658 to 25,658.

No. 5, permitting JPs to deduct court costs from fines before sending money to the treasurer, was defeated 20,780 to 28,202.

No. 6, permitting the legislature to set the pay of its members, was defeated 16,780 to 32,801.

No. 7, providing for the merger of the Corporation and Public Service Commissions, was defeated 23,850 to 25,521.

No. 8, providing for annual legislative sessions, lost, 20,880 to 28,178.

No. 10, providing for an appointive state auditor, lost by a 17,649 to 31,697 vote. The proposal was poorly drafted, apparently conflicted with other proposals and introduced a number of unnecessary side issues.

No. 12, to permit legislators to serve on certain state boards, was defeated 17,847 to 31,451.

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New Jersey Approves Four Referenda

Four public questions submitted to the voters of New Jersey at the November 7 elections were approved by varying margins.

The legislature was authorized to provide for emergency government in case of national disaster or attack, including establishment of lines of succession and replacement for the executive and legislative branches and emergency locations for state government. This carried overwhelmingly.

Games of chance, legalized in 1959 for beach boardwalks and public amusement parks, were further legalized for county and agricultural fairs by about five to three.

Two bond issues were authorized, one of \$40 million for prisons and correctional facilities and for facilities for the mentally retarded, which carried by over two to one; the other of \$60 million for land for state parks and (to the extent of \$20 million) as matching funds for counties and municipalities buying land

for recreational purposes. The latter won about three to two.

California to Vote on 20 Amendments in 1962

Voters in California will pass upon twenty proposed amendments to the state constitution at the November 1962 general election. Thirteen of these originated in the State Assembly, seven in the Senate.

The Assembly proposals include the following subjects:

To authorize the legislature to propose and submit to the voters a revision of all or part of the state constitution in the same manner by which amendments are submitted;

To repeal various obsolete or superseded provisions of the constitution;

To provide that state bond measures shall be submitted to the voters as statutes rather than as amendments;

To provide that in any county of five million or more inhabitants (Los Angeles) an incumbent judge who files for a new term without official opposition shall be declared elected automatically, unless the county board of supervisors orders otherwise or a petition of 500 voters requests the judge's name to go on the ballot to face write-in opposition.

To revise legislative procedure, permitting a ten-day recess during general sessions and allowing floor action on a bill only after 30 days following introduction;

To authorize county tax appeal boards to undertake the equalization functions now performed by county boards of supervisors;

To revise and clarify the law on increasing compensation of city, county or township officials during their terms of office;

To authorize the legislature to create a general obligation bond proceeds fund to receive proceeds of sales under existing and future bond acts.

The other five deal with assessment of agricultural property, extension of tax exemptions, regulation of boxing and wrestling, and payment to the state of workmen's compensation awards in case of death of a workman without dependents.

Senate proposals would:

Give members of the state Alcoholic Control Board six-year staggered terms rather than tenure at the governor's pleasure;

Permit sale of tidelands under certain conditions; exempt college property from taxation; and extend tax exemption and other aids to veterans' widows and surviving parents and to historic landmarks.

New York Legislature Redistricts for Congress

At a special session on November 9 and 10 the New York State legislature adopted a revision of congressional districts, made especially necessary because the state loses two congressmen as a result of the 1960 census. The redistricting by the Republican-controlled legislature is expected to change the present New York delegation of 22 Democrats and 21 Republicans in the House of Representatives to 25 Republicans and 16 Democrats.

The measure passed the Senate by a straight party vote—33 to 25. In the lower house (Assembly) it barely carried, as five Republicans voted against it and three were absent. An affirmative vote of 76 was necessary and was finally obtained. The negative vote was 70. No hearings were held.

The revision eliminates three seats from New York City—two in Manhattan and one in Brooklyn—and one upstate; they are all held by Democrats. Two seats are added on Long Island—one in Nassau County and one in Suffolk County; the Republicans hope to gain both.

According to the reapportionment com-

mittee, which did not make its plan public until November 9, no district varies more than 15 per cent from the state average of 409,326 people per district. It was also pointed out that the districts in the city of New York average much the same as the districts elsewhere in the state. However, the districts of largest and smallest population are both in New York City; the largest (469,908) is a Democratic district in Brooklyn and the smallest (348,940) is Republican, in the Bronx.

The *New York Times*, in commenting November 12 on the new plan as compared to the present one, said: "The present division reflects fairly closely the statewide vote for representatives last year. Of the 7,022,152 votes cast, Democratic candidates got 3,758,443 and Republican candidates 3,263,709. Thus with 53.5 per cent of the vote the Democrats got 51.2 per cent of the seats. Next year, with a similar distribution of the vote, the Republicans presumably would get 61 per cent of the seats."

The special session also dealt with two other matters. New York State citizens called to military duty from October 1, 1961, to June 30, 1963, were given income tax relief totaling \$1,400,000, together with other benefits. State financial assistance for the construction of fall-out shelters in schools and colleges, public and private, was provided to the extent of \$100 million diverted from highway appropriations.

Indiana Reapportionment Sought in Federal Court

The Indiana Civil Liberties Union filed suit in the U. S. District Court in Indianapolis on August 2 to force reapportionment of the Indiana legislature. The suit was filed on behalf of the voters in the four largest counties and seeks to have the court rule the 1921 apportionment of the legislature unconstitutional. It also seeks to prevent the election of any more legislators until it can be done

on the basis of new districts or from the state at large.

The suit charges that the citizens of the four largest counties are being discriminated against as their population has risen greatly in the past 40 years. According to the complaint, Marion County (containing Indianapolis) should have fifteen representatives and seven senators instead of the eleven representatives and five senators it has now. Although the constitution calls for a realignment of the 100 House and 50 Senate seats every six years on the basis of a special census, 1921 was the last time it was done.

Michigan Court Voids Governmental Immunity

The Michigan Supreme Court by a five to three decision on September 22 abandoned the common law tradition that the state government, and the local governments under it, cannot be sued. The majority decision, by Justice George Edwards, said, "From this date forward the judicial doctrine of governmental immunity from ordinary torts no longer exists in Michigan." He added, however, that the legislature may, if it sees fit to do so, reinstate governmental tort immunity by statute.

In a suit against the city of Detroit by the widow of a furniture mover who was killed when removing a desk from a Welfare Department office, the court declined, four to four, to hold the city liable, but announced that henceforth the immunity doctrine no longer prevails.

More 1961 State Legislative Action

New laws dealing with organization, elections, constitutions, etc., passed by the 1961 legislatures of various states and not previously mentioned herein, include the following:

Alaska. Legislators reduced their an-

nual pay from \$3,000 to \$2,500 and cut the per diem of \$40 to \$25 for Juneau district members and to \$35 for others. However, they granted each legislator an annual allowance of \$300 for stenographic service, stationery and other office expenses.

Idaho. A proposed constitutional amendment, which would remove probate court judges from the list of constitutional offices and give the legislature power to specify terms and qualifications for the office, was passed by the 1961 legislature. If ratified by the voters in 1962 the amendment could open the way for establishment of a nonpartisan method for the selection of probate judges and an increase from two to four years in the terms, both of which are recommended by the Idaho Probate Judges' Association.

Kansas. The legislature approved for submission to the voters in 1962 a constitutional amendment that would remove the specified salaries for legislators from the constitution. It increased salaries of elected state officers, effective in January 1963; the governor will receive \$20,000, the attorney general \$12,500 and the others \$10,000. Salaries of state judges were also increased, to \$17,500 for the chief justice of the Supreme Court, \$17,000 for his associates and \$12,000 for district court justices.

A public employee retirement system was established, covering most state employees and those of local units that choose to come under the plan. Employees and government will both contribute.

A 25-member Economic Development Commission, to be appointed by the governor, was authorized to conduct a two-year study of economic conditions in the state. A planning division was provided for, in the State Industrial Development Commission, to receive and administer federal planning grants for cities under 50,000 population.

Ohio. The legislature required the De-

partment of Public Works to make office space available in the capitol for the governor-elect, and the Department of Finance was required to make available to him all information concerning the state's income and budget; one or more department employees are to be furnished to assist in study of the information.

Pennsylvania. Initial legislative approval was given to proposed constitutional amendments to remove one-term limits for the state auditor and state treasurer; to remove the limit on state debt and permit the state to issue bonds directly instead of through public authorities.

The legislature provided for reduction of the number of school districts from 2,200 to 500 approximately; most districts will be required to have a minimum enrollment of 2,500 pupils.

South Carolina. The legislature gave final approval to a constitutional amendment providing for temporary succession to state and local offices to assure continuity of government in case of enemy attack. The electorate had previously approved it.

South Dakota. The legislature approved a reapportionment plan that takes a Senate seat from Brown County (1960 population 34,106) and adds it to Pennington County (58,195). In the House a seat was taken from the district composed of Aurora, Brule and Charles Mix Counties (22,853, combined) and given to Minnehaha County (86,575). Other districts in the northeastern part of the state were also realigned. Last year the people defeated a constitutional proposal to limit any county to two senators and thus freeze the number for Minnehaha, the county of largest population, to two (see the REVIEW, January 1961, page 33).

An amendment to provide for annual sessions of the legislature was approved by the legislature and will be submitted to the voters in 1962. Under it the legis-

(Continued on page 613)

Metropolitan Areas*• William N. Cassella, Jr., Editor*

Dade Charter Survives Test

Amendment Attempt Narrowly Defeated

AN ATTEMPT to alter drastically Dade County's metropolitan government was defeated October 17 by a margin of 8,000 votes—97,170 for changing the charter, 105,097 against. The attack on Metro took the form of a series of amendments to the charter adopted in 1957. Among the more important features of the proposed amendments were:

(1) Abolition of the office of county manager, the administrative duties devolving on the commission and on certain elective officers; (2) a reduction in the size of the commission from thirteen members to five; (3) the abolition of the power of the county government within the 26 municipalities of Dade County other than the power conferred by constitution and general statute;

(4) Return of the sheriff to elective status and the temporary return of the tax assessor to elective status until 1964 when assessing duties would be given to a five-man appointed board; (5) abolition of the county-wide metropolitan traffic court; and (6) establishment of certain county departments—planning, finance, personnel, law—made permissive rather than mandatory.

Item (3) above was the subject of the so-called autonomy amendment of 1958 rejected by 60 per cent of the voters; item (4) was proposed in a single amendment in 1959 and was turned down by a slightly smaller majority.

The proponents of the amendment attempted to capitalize primarily upon the widespread fear of higher taxes—

a rather normal fear grown acute in Dade County this year because of a reassessment program made mandatory by the 1957 charter. Although this reassessment provision had been repealed in August by a charter amendment, recommended by the county manager and approved by 91 per cent of the voters, many persons still believed that higher taxes would soon be imposed through reassessment despite the repeal.

Much of Metro's trouble can be traced back to the homestead exemption provision in the Florida constitution by which the first \$5,000 of assessed valuation of a home is exempt from real property taxation. Most homes in Dade County have been assessed at 40-50 per cent of real value and thus the more modest ones escaped all ad valorem taxes. It is estimated that 35,000 to 40,000 homes are free of ad valorem taxes except in some cases for minor exactions based on pre-1934 bond issues. The proposed reassessment would have boosted nearly all of these homes into taxpaying levels.

A second major cause of dissatisfaction was the metropolitan traffic court. Many persons resented its policies of requiring the court appearance of all persons charged with any moving offense and of a fairly stiff system of penalties.

A substantial number of people had become disillusioned by the relatively slow progress of Metro in attacking county-wide problems such as mass transportation, water and sewage; many of the same persons were not able to perceive the long strides made by Metro in areas of less visibility such as welfare, hospitals and planning. In a survey conducted by the University of Miami the more common complaint was that Metro had done too little rather than too much; those who planned to

vote for the amendments resented the relative lack of action more strongly than did those who favored the status quo.

A comparatively unimportant element in the anti-Metro forces was the attitude of some city officials. During the autonomy amendment campaign of 1958 the Dade County League of Municipalities and practically all the city councils worked openly against Metro. This time the Dade league took no stand and its president publicly opposed the amendments. The councils of only two small cities endorsed the amendments as did the Police Chief's Association, but the councils of Miami, Coral Gables and several of the other more important cities rejected the proposed changes.

Labor tended to favor the amendments primarily because the bus drivers' union regarded Metro's plan to purchase the privately owned Miami Transit Company as a threat to its well-being because of the prohibition of strikes.

* * *

There were few well known public figures in the leadership of the anti-Metro forces. Other than one ex-Metro commissioner, John B. McLeod, sponsor of the amendment, a radio commentator and a TV commentator, no anti-Metro leaders could be named by 90 per cent of the respondents in a survey. Some observers believe, however, that movement to abolish Metro might well have been victorious had it had no well known figure because much of the attack on the amendment was an attack against the ex-Metro commissioner whose name the amendment bore in the popular mind.

The leadership of the anti-amendment forces was assumed by an ad hoc committee based on a coalition of the Chamber of Commerce and other business groups, the League of Women Voters, members of the original charter board and some municipal leaders. The editorial support of the two leading Miami

newspapers and one of the three TV stations was important and probably decisive. Although six of the thirteen Metro commissioners gave important support to Metro, the spokesmen for Metro tended to be the county manager and certain charter board members.

In the election, for which nearly 50 per cent of the registered voters turned out, the voters of Miami rejected the amendments by a 51.7 per cent majority and those of the next largest cities, Hialeah and Miami Beach, approved the changes by majorities of 60 per cent and 54 per cent respectively. With three exceptions the voters of the other cities of more than 1,000 opposed the amendments. As had been the case in the earlier elections involving metropolitan government, Metro's strongest support was derived from Coral Gables, South Miami, the Coconut Grove section of Miami and the adjacent unincorporated areas. The greatest opposition to Metro was found in the southern agricultural areas, in Hialeah, a self-conscious community advertised by its nine-term mayor to be a "working class suburb," in the Negro districts of Miami and adjoining unincorporated territory, and in the less favored precincts of Miami Beach.

The pattern of opposition to Metro has changed since its inception and its initial challenges. Whereas jurisdictional lines were of greatest importance in the referendum on the adoption of the charter and on that concerning the autonomy amendment, the decisive factor in the two most recent referenda has been the socio-economic level. For example, while Miami Springs and Miami Shores, suburbs of higher socio-economic level which had opposed Metro in 1957 and 1958, have become staunch Metro supporters, the less prestigious areas in the city of Miami, which as a whole has been favorable to Metro, slipped into the anti-Metro camp.

A charter review board, appointed by

the Metro commission during the recent campaign, has started a series of hearings on charter changes in an effort to meet some of the objections to the present system. Among the items to be considered are: (1) A reduction in the size of the commission, (2) establishment of an office of commission (council) president in an effort to create more political leadership, (3) a guarantee to the cities of full prior discussion of proposals to extend Metro's activities within city boundaries, (4) stiffer requirements for introduction of initiative petitions, and (5) an easier method of setting up special tax districts in the unincorporated area.

In addition, steps are certain to be taken to meet the more valid complaints against the traffic court and to secure better understanding of the entire financial structure of the county as a preliminary to equalization of assessments which will involve bringing into the ranks of the taxpayers many who are now exempt.

In the breathing space now granted to Metro, perhaps its most important task is to determine how its energies and its tax dollars are to be most profitably employed. Increasingly Metro is pressured to provide municipal services to the 40 per cent of Dade County's population living, for the most part in essentially urban conditions, in the unincorporated area. At the same time the county-wide problems of traffic control and expressways, mass transportation, sewage, water and flood control demand much more attention and money than has been devoted to them during the past four years. If these latter matters, in which all the people of Dade County have a stake, are to receive priority, then some method must be devised to enable the unincorporated areas to secure needed services other than through Metro. This may be by the formation of a special tax district or by annexation to some existing

municipality or, if neither of these is possible, by the formation of a new municipality.

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Leaders Confer on Twin Cities Area

Appointment of "a metropolitan problems committee to work with the legislature in the preparation of legislation necessary for solving problems of intergovernmental concern within the metropolitan area and to formulate . . . the role of the state government within this area" was the principal recommendation of the Minnesota Governor's Conference on Metropolitan Problems, held October 17, 18 and 19. Governor Elmer L. Anderson convened the three-day conference, involving more than two hundred officials of the various governmental units in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area and representative citizens, to explore the major problems in the seven-county region and their possible solutions. F. Robert Edman, chairman of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Planning Commission, served as conference chairman.

The conferees agreed on general principles which should govern solutions to metropolitan problems. These included:

(1) "Because many of the problems posed by rapid growth and change . . . are of intergovernmental concern, there is an interdependence and mutuality of interests on the part of the area's governmental units." The area-wide nature of problems must be understood by the area's citizens through expanded opportunities for citizen participation in working out solutions.

(2) "Functions which are being discharged successfully by existing levels of government should be continued at these levels. The autonomy of existing governmental units must be preserved

in this respect. Functions which cannot be discharged adequately at the levels to which they are presently assigned, or needed new functions which are not presently assigned, should be transferred or assigned to that level of government which is best fitted by virtue of its powers and geographic area of concern to discharge them. In this connection the role of the counties . . . should be examined from the standpoint of their existing and potential capacity to take on additional responsibilities for dealing with area-wide problems.

"Problems which require metropolitan solutions should in general be dealt with at that level. Additional ways of achieving coordinated action among metropolitan agencies must be developed. In the creation of new governmental units, the principle of responsibility to the electorate must be maintained."

The conference saw in the application of the "principle of federation" a possible solution preferable to area-wide consolidation or dealing with problems through existing avenues of inter-governmental cooperation. This would involve limited transfer of functions.

(3) "The legislature must place the governmental tools necessary for metropolitan problem-solving in the hands of those who are most competent to use them, and who have the most to gain or lose from failure or success in their application. These hands belong to the people of this metropolitan area."

The conference recommendations also stressed the "primary responsibility of the state government in equipping local government to carry out its responsibilities in the urban development field." In addition to the bipartisan metropolitan problems committee to be appointed by the governor, the conference recommended creation of "a permanent committee on metropolitan affairs" in each house of the legislature.

It was urged that the "organizational resources to fill needs in three general

areas be explored": (1) "A metropolitan convention or assembly calling together . . . representatives from all of the area's governmental units for the purpose of determining, prior to the 1963 legislative session, desired action on metropolitan problems"; (2) "a continuing forum whereby local governmental officials may discuss metropolitan issues and coordinate the activities of local government in this field . . . a metropolitan council"; (3) an annual conference involving both private citizens and officials "to acquire information, express opinions and develop advice concerning metropolitan problems."

Toronto Reviews Size Of Metro Council

One of the questions being studied by the Council of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is whether the number of council members should be changed. At present the membership is 24—the mayor, two controllers and nine aldermen of the city of Toronto, the mayors of four suburban towns and the reeves of eight suburban townships.

Three proposals to modify the composition of the council have been made. Two would add to the present membership councillors elected from newly drawn wards. In one case eighteen new ward representatives would bring the total membership to 42; in the other, with twelve new representatives, the membership would be 36. The third proposal would increase the number of representatives of the city of Toronto and the larger suburbs and change the total to 46. The practice whereby the council elects the chairman of the municipality from outside its membership would be continued under each of the proposals.

The Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research suggests five relevant factors in deciding the question of the size of

the council: (1) Extent of responsibilities of the representative body, (2) amount of time an elected representative is prepared to spend on civic business, (3) extent of the representatives' responsibility for administration, (4) procedure for dealing with complaints, (5) availability and accessibility of mass media.

Greater London Papers Published

The London School of Economics and Political Science has published the first two numbers in a series of papers reporting on the research and thinking of the Greater London Group. In 1958 this group was formed, with W. A. Robson as chairman, from among the members of the teaching staff of the London School to study various aspects of the Greater London Region. The first report is *Education in Greater London*, by A. V. Judges (London, 1961, 16 pages). The second is *Theories of Local Government*, by W. J. M. MacKenzie (1961, 20 pages). Future reports will deal with the Greater London boroughs, housing and welfare and health.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 608)

lature would meet for a 45-day session in the odd-numbered years and for a 30-day session in the even-numbered years. The present regular session is limited to 60 days.

Wisconsin. The legislature cleared the way for a court reorganization plan initially approved by the 1959 session (see the REVIEW, October 1959, page 470). Under the plan, which goes into effect in January 1962, there will be three types of courts—supreme, circuit and county. Justice-of-the-peace courts are virtually eliminated and other lower

courts will become county courts. The post of court administrator is created.

A constitutional proposal to reorganize the executive department failed. It would have merged 73 state agencies into twenty and extended the governor's authority to make further changes in the governmental structure.

Delaware River Compact Signed

President Kennedy and Governors Lawrence of Pennsylvania, Meyner of New Jersey and Carvel of Delaware signed the Delaware River Compact (see the REVIEW, March 1961, page 143) on November 2. It was announced that Governor Rockefeller of New York will sign later.

The compact sets up the machinery for a federal-state partnership to plan and build projects dealing with water supply, water power, pollution, flood control, conservation and other basin problems.

The President designated Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall as federal representative on the commission established by the compact. The four governors are the other members.

Fourteenth Annual Meeting Of Legislative Conference

More than 530 delegates from 43 states attended the fourteenth annual meeting of the National Legislative Conference in Philadelphia and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, September 6-8. Twenty workshops were held on fiscal review, bill drafting, post auditing, research, legislative reference and statutory revision. Special workshops for legislators and legislative clerks and secretaries were also held. Resolutions on a wide variety of topics were adopted.

L. G. Merritt, director of the South Carolina Legislative Council, was elected president of the conference for 1961-62.

Proportional Representation*George H. Hallett, Jr., Editor*

Cambridge Voters Again Keep P. R.

New York City Adopts Limited Voting System

ON NOVEMBER 7 Cambridge, Massachusetts, voted for the fourth time to keep proportional representation for the elections of its city council and school committee. The question was placed on the ballot by a petition signed by 5 per cent of the city's voters. Previously a bill calling for a vote on the question was passed by the 1951 Massachusetts legislature but was vetoed by Governor John A. Volpe, as reported in this department for September (page 439).

Considered the major issue in the election, 15,875 votes were cast in favor of repeal of P. R. and 16,331 votes against it. As on previous occasions the successful defense was led by the Cambridge Civic Association and the League of Women Voters. Unless the legislature intervenes, P. R. is now safe from further attacks for four years.

For the Cambridge Civic Association President James Vorenberg declared, "It's a great victory for good government in our city." He thanked the "hundreds of people who worked so hard so the voters of Cambridge would know what was at stake."

New York Charter Includes Minority Representation

New York City voters on November 7 adopted a new city charter (see page 601, this issue) and, in a separate question, agreed that the city council under the new charter shall be elected in part by a limited voting plan designed to assure one minority representative in each of the five boroughs. Both questions were ap-

proved by margins better than two to one. The charter was adopted by 687,711 votes to 297,372, according to unofficial totals, and minority representation by 620,420 votes to 304,782.

As outlined in this department for September (page 438), the new charter provides for two councilmen at large from each borough and in their election each party or independent group will be limited to one nomination and each voter to one vote. This will give the first place in each borough to the majority or plurality; the second to the largest minority.

The need for minority representation had been emphasized by the results of the three council elections between the abandonment of proportional representation in 1947 and the submission of the proposals of the Cahill charter commission this fall. In the first and third of these Minority Leader Stanley M. Isaacs, of the "silk stocking district" of Manhattan, with Republican and Liberal party support, had been the only minority member elected out of a total of 25. In the second election one other Republican, from Queens, had been chosen and again this fall a second Republican, this time from Brooklyn, was successful.

The district councilmen just elected will serve for four years even though the new charter will take effect in most respects on January 1, 1963. In the fall of 1963 the borough-wide councilmen will be elected by limited voting for an initial two-year term. Thereafter they are to be elected with the district councilmen every four years.

Civic groups will now confer to consider whether a proposal to replace this combination by proportional representation shall be put on the ballot next fall by petition. The Citizens Union questioned all the candidates for city offices on this and other possible revisions of the charter before the recent election.

Treasury to Seek Ban on Tax-Exempts

Would Limit Privilege On Semi-Public Bonds

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is reprinted with permission from *The Weekly Bond Buyer*, New York, for October 16, 1961.

TREASURY tax officials are weighing a politically palatable formula by which Congress could realistically consider limiting some of the tax-exempt privileges now enjoyed by state and municipal securities.

Such a formula or strategy is an absolute must. Or else administration proponents of a change in the tax status of such securities will be frigidly received by congressional members, who cringe at the thought of any new restraints on the money-raising activities of their constituencies.

Consequently, the present strategy—and the one which could be adopted, barring now unexpected political considerations and complications—is a sort of three-phase approach that might just do the trick:

1. The Treasury would review in executive session with the Ways and Means Committee the history of tax-exempt securities, their origin and development, and the good and evil that are the outgrowth of their expanding use.

2. With "backgrounding" accomplished, the Treasury would then target in on the most flagrant abuses that have developed in relatively recent times through tax-exempts, primarily in the expansion of industrial development loans and the use of quasi or "shadow" governmental bodies as the issuers of tax-exempts, when such activities have little or no justification to issue tax-exempts.

3. Seek from Congress only that restrictive legislation necessary to end the worst abuses now—and then recommend that the entire problem be referred for study by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, imposing, for example, a two-year deadline for the drafting of major over-all legislation.

For the most part, Congress is pretty well informed on abuses growing out of tax-exempt industrial development bond flotations. Two years ago the Ways and Means Committee was virtually drenched with expert testimony showing how municipal industrial development bonds are used as weapons in the war among states and cities to win new industries.

Nevertheless, the testimony and evidence had a telling effect then. It stands to have still more now, especially when Congress is again reminded that tax-exempts cost the federal Treasury some \$600 million a year in tax yields and that the extent of industrial piracy, aided by the use of industrial loans, has increased rather than diminished in the ensuing years.

But Treasury officials figure they can score more telling points by exposing to Congress the degree to which pseudo state and municipal authorities have sprung up in recent years, ostensibly to "act in the interests of public welfare" but, in fact, to construct semi-private projects under the immunities enjoyed by tax-exempts.

Generally, this kind of abuse follows this rough pattern: A group of "public spirited citizens" will approach state or city officials, suggesting the construction or development of some public facility, such as an underground parking lot or a cultural center or a civic repository for public records.

The promoters will propose to the official government that they (the promoters) undertake the planning, financing,

construction and utilization of the project in mind. To do all this they propose the issuance of tax-exempt bonds, whose maturity will run for at least the life of the project in mind.

The promoters offer to render all services relating to the operation of the public facility, whatever it might be, taking as their compensation a mere service fee for management and initial promotion.

If the facility happens to have both public and private utility, as in the case of office buildings, the agreement usually carries with it the proviso that project managers will be custodians of all revenues, which presumably are to be used toward debt retirement, after expenses are paid.

Whereupon the state or city endows the promotion group with a suitable title, such as the "downtown parking authority," gives it a quasi-governmental stature and its blessings when it seeks from the Internal Revenue Service the privilege of issuing tax-exempt bonds.

* * *

The big hitch, according to the Treasury, is that the debts incurred for those public projects are never retired; that many continue in perpetuity, and accordingly the promoters enjoy in perpetuity tax-free income, not only from the interest on bonds but also from whatever revenues the project itself can produce after normal operating expenses.

The Treasury claims it can and will identify "hundreds of instances" where this practice has been used in one form or another. Some involve office buildings, some industrial facilities such as natural gas plants, and still others elaborate parking facilities.

To its disclosures, it is also likely that the Treasury will add a "sweetener" by which the "federal government would consistently give consent to the taxation of interest on federal securities held by taxable entities under state-imposed income taxes."

Advisory Commission Releases Local Tax Study

Conflicts arising among local governments in levying sales, income and other so-called nonproperty taxes is the subject of an analytical publication by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (*Local Nonproperty Taxes and the Coordinating Role of the State*, Washington 25, D. C., 1961, 68 pages). The pamphlet is part of a series of works put out by the commission that investigate various aspects of local government finance. This is the first report, however, that deals with state-local tax relations.

The study notes that last year more than half the \$63 billion civil government expenditures took place at the local level, slightly more than a quarter at state level and only 18 per cent at the federal level.

"Financing local government in the years ahead poses one of the more pressing intergovernmental problems," Commission Chairman Frank Bane said. "Local governments' needs are increasing rapidly and will continue to outpace their resources. It will require intergovernmental action to correct this imbalance between local needs and local resources."

The commission submits several guideline proposals for the consideration of state executives and legislatures. These include:

(1) Providing cities and adjoining jurisdictions in large metropolitan areas with uniform taxing powers and authority for cooperative tax enforcement; (2) authorizing the addition of local tax supplements to state sales, income and excise taxes where these are used both by the state and a large number of local governments; (3) permitting pooled administration of similar local taxes levied by numerous local governments;

(4) Limiting local governments to the more productive taxes and discouraging

the smaller jurisdictions from excessive tax diversity; and (5) providing state technical assistance to local tax authorities including tax information, training facilities for local personnel, access to state tax records and, where appropriate, using sanctions against state taxpayers who fail to comply with local tax requirements.

New York City Repeals Theater Tax

In these days of rising taxation, New York's city council took a small step in the other direction by repealing the 5 per cent theater admissions tax. The theater-going public won't notice the difference, however, as ticket prices will remain the same; the 5 per cent will be applied toward costs of production.

Total value of the tax relief to the theaters will be approximately \$2 million a year. This amount will mean comparatively little to the ailing New York stage but city officials expressed the hope that the federal government's 10 per cent admissions tax might soon be repealed.

Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs was quoted¹ as saying that the New York theater was "in miserable shape, really on the rocks" and he expressed the hope that the council's action would help although he also cited "waste and extravagance" in certain theatrical practices.

Councilman Thomas J. Cuite said he hoped the repeal of the admissions tax might lead to the dropping of some of the other nuisance taxes imposed by the city.

San Francisco Bay Transit System Still Undecided

Northern California's forthcoming billion-dollar program for a five-county Bay

Area rapid transit system still remains clouded in indecision.

All major planning phases of the Bay Area rapid transit program—engineering, financial and economic—were completed by June 30, 1961. Political approval of the plans has not been achieved.

The envisioned system would link the five counties of the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan area through subway, aerial and surface light-weight electric trains capable of speeds in excess of 70 miles an hour, which would serve the nearly 50 communities of the area.

According to original plans financing of the system would be primarily covered by a \$1,078 million general obligation bond issue (for the five-county plan), which would pay the bulk of capital costs and would be set up on a 40-year schedule for amortization. Another \$133 million would be required for a proposed underwater trans-bay tube, constructed as an earthquake resistant structure to link San Francisco and Oakland.

Already the directors of the Bay Area Rapid Transit District have had to revise the plan downward to a \$939 million program covering only four counties. For the time being at least, Marin County has been dropped from the plans as that county's participation is predicated upon use of the Golden Gate Bridge for rapid transit trains.

Directors of the Golden Gate Bridge rejected its use by trains following an adverse report as to the safety of such action by the bridge's designer Clifford E. Paine. An earlier study by C. H. Gronquist, consulting engineer, had stated that such usage was feasible and would actually strengthen the bridge in some respects.

A third study has now been ordered. A panel of ten engineers, to be named by the presidents of the California Institute of Technology and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will conduct the new survey.

(Continued on page 625)

¹ *New York Times*, September 29, 1961.

How Finance Political Campaigns?

New York City's Battle Points Need for Solution

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is reprinted with permission from the October 1961 issue of *ECHO*, monthly newsletter of Effective Citizens Organization, New York City.

THE staggering cost of the 1960 elections, and the rhubarb over political contributions in the current New York City mayoralty election, are focusing new attention on the problem of how we should finance our political parties and their campaigns. It's about time.

The problem is certainly one of the oldest. And in terms of relative importance one of the most neglected. A great deal of study, research, debate and just plain discussion goes into a broad range of problems in our society. But this massive problem, which lies at the heart of so much that is evil in government and politics, has been largely ignored.

Today there is reason to hope that improvement may be on the way. The problem has simply become too enormous to be ignored any longer. The pressures to run a winning campaign, the ever-increasing cost of these campaigns and the obvious shortcomings of the existing methods seem to be forcing change—whether we like it or not. Several bills were introduced in the last session of Congress and President Kennedy has appointed a bipartisan commission to study the problem and submit recommendations to Congress in 1962.

The hassle over campaign financing has reached its zenith in the bitter New York contest for control of the city government. Charges and countercharges

fill the air. The opening gun was fired when an evening newspaper reported that Mayor Robert Wagner had been present at a fund-raising luncheon during which preprinted checks had been distributed to a group of contractors who were then asked to stand and state how much they were contributing to the mayor's campaign for re-election. The amount of \$25,000 was raised in pledges. In a few days the mayor disavowed the whole operation, a key member of the city planning commission who had presided at the luncheon had resigned, and Mr. Wagner promised to return the \$25,000 to the pledgees.

He was quick to counter with the charge that the Republicans were milking money from contractors and other businessmen on the receiving end of lucrative contracts from the Republican state administration, through forcing them to take advertisements in the Republican Yearbook. As might be expected, the Republicans countered with the charge that "virtually all of these same firms have placed similar advertisements in yearbooks published by the Democratic State Committee in recent years."

All this, of course, is nothing new to anyone even remotely familiar with the fine art and science of raising political funds. The public may be "shocked," but this is only because the public knows so little about how campaign funds are raised. And, it might be added, the public doesn't really seem to care.

For the moment at least, the newspapers seem to care and this concern may well be the stimulus needed to force changes in the current system. The *New York Times* said on October 11:

"Mayor Wagner and Attorney General Lefkowitz have now both spoken out in favor of more stringent laws to deal with the problem of campaign contribu-

tions. This is progress. The campaign has furnished disquieting new proof of how hard it is to bar sledge-hammer methods of political fund solicitation or to keep the high cost of being elected from casting a taint of special privilege over the conduct of governmental affairs.

"The operations of federal, state and local government have become so pervasive that every citizen and every business is affected, for good or ill, by laws and the way laws are administered. It is fatal to good government to allow room for suspicion that those in a position to make the largest donations can expect the most respectful hearing. By the same token, it is foolhardy to make our restrictions so tight that no one in any way 'interested' in government decisions may contribute. That would mean a total cut-off of campaign funds.

* * *

"Mayor Wagner has suggested that one way to reduce dependence on big contributors would be to broaden the base of campaign support by granting a state tax credit of up to \$10 to every citizen who wanted to aid a political party. This idea—which has often been proposed for federal elections—would be fine if the mayor would only suggest the new taxes he believes the state should impose to make up for the money it thus relinquished. If new revenue sources are available, the credit ought to be more than \$10 in the interest of transferring a meaningful share of the cost of television and other campaign aids from large to small donors.

"Public disclosure of the names of contributors to each candidate—and how much—is, of course, one of the effective policing devices already in the law. However, the desirability of greater safeguards is so apparent, and the disinclination of politicians to enact them so inbred, that a bipartisan study should be undertaken to consider all possible reinforcements for the controls now on

the books. President Kennedy has begun such an effort at the federal level; Governor Rockefeller ought to do the same in the state."

The *Wall Street Journal* took a somewhat different approach to the subject. It commented in an editorial on October 10 that:

"The amount of money spent every four years on the presidential election extravaganza is worrying a number of people, President Kennedy among them. One informed source puts the total spent by both parties during the 1960 campaign at \$100 million. When that sort of money is changing hands, conflict between public interest and private axe-grinders is not altogether impossible.

"Mr. Kennedy says he has 'long thought that we must either provide a federal share in campaign costs or reduce the costs of campaign services or both.' He has appointed a bipartisan commission to recommend to the 1962 session of Congress ways of reducing presidential candidates' dependence upon private givers for large sums of money.

"Well, it is not likely that the cost of presidential campaigning will decrease between now and the next national election. So the problem is not going to get any smaller. The fashionable way to solve it, of course, is to let the federal government pay part of campaign costs.

"If the commission plans to consider that approach, we suggest some questions it may want to think about. For instance: Who is going to decide how much federal money to allot to all contesting parties? Or, since this would be federal money collected in the form of taxes from all the people, how would a voter belonging to the Vegetarian party feel about having his dollars used in behalf of the Socialist party's candidate or, for that matter, the Republicans' candidate? More important, what of the political dangers involved in the control, by whatever administration, of tax dollars plainly

earmarked for the most partisan of uses?

"Other better ways to finance the next campaign will, we hope, suggest themselves to the bipartisan commission. Certainly it is desirable—as Mr. Kennedy already has observed—that the financial base of presidential campaigns be broadened. For example, if small contributions can be obtained from a large number of people the base of giving not only is extended but the contributor's sense of personal involvement in issues and candidates also is increased.

"It is also about time to liberalize the present federal limit of \$3 million on spending by a national committee. That provision simply invites limitless fundraising through the subterfuge of creating as many 'special' committees as a party may need.

"Whatever comes out of the study, this much is sure: If the government is permitted to start paying a part of campaign expenses, it won't be long before the taxpayer will find himself picking up the whole tab—and that could be costly in more ways than just money."

Committee Discusses Municipal Employees

In its monthly bulletin *Civic Affairs*, the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy asks, "How many municipal employees do we need?" The committee points out:

"During the past ten years the city has adopted every modern facility to reduce the workload and expedite the job of municipal housekeeping. The automation in many departments includes the installation of the very latest equipment that should not only facilitate the business of governing the city but should also have reduced the man power needs in many departments. From January 1, 1949, to January 1, 1961, the total municipal personnel has increased from 22,619 to 29,317."

The committee notes that in recent

years the city has employed experts in "practically every field of endeavor to study various areas of government and make recommendations for improvement. . . . No effort, however, has been made to retain the services of a group of qualified experts to undertake a study of management, man power and its utilization, and performance on all levels of our municipal government."

Such a study, the article comments, would answer the question as to how many municipal employees Philadelphia actually needs to provide essential public service. It cites various examples of departments where a study would doubtless demonstrate that fewer employees are needed and that further economies could be secured by integrating certain departments with others.

Makes Civic Awards

Some 150 people attended the first civic awards banquet of the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, held September 13. The award for the outstanding non-elected public official went to City Manager Francis J. McGrath; that for the most outstanding citizen was presented to Mrs. Richard B. Wolf and the outstanding organization award went to the Brown Square Civic Club. Judges in the contests were Forrest W. Seymour, editor of the *Worcester Telegram and Gazette*, Hon. Carl E. Wahlstrom, judge of the Probate Court in Worcester, and President Howard B. Jefferson of Clark University.

Tenth Anniversary

Citizens of Greater Chicago held its tenth annual civic conference on October 3. The meetings began at 3 P.M. with a business session. At 3:30 a forum on "Your Stake in the State" was held; followed by a dinner session which featured a discussion on "Taxes—The Great Debate." Discussants were Sena-

tor Russell W. Arrington and Theodore J. Isaacs, director of the Illinois State Department of Revenue. Moderator was Charles Finston, political editor of *Chicago's American*.

Presentation of the Guy E. Reed Memorial Award was made to Hon. Richard B. Austin, formerly chief justice of the Criminal Court of Cook County and judge of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois. CGC Awards of Merit went to Alan J. Dixon, Robert L. Burhans and Albert W. Hachmeister, all members of the Illinois House of Representatives.

A for Effort

According to its publication, *Across from City Hall*, the Citizens Union of the City of New York made a record success on its primary suggestions to voters. It made recommendations in twenty contests and the candidates it preferred were elected in nineteen of them. The union distributed 75,000 copies of its *Voters Directory* making recommendations on both candidates and issues for the November 7 election.

Forum on Legislature

The New York Women's City Club and the Association of the Bar, together with a number of sponsoring organizations, have held a series of three forums on the New York legislature. Legislators, civic leaders, newspaper reporters and experts in various fields participated in the discussions in an effort to find solutions to the chaos in which the legislature frequently finds itself.

LWV Publications

The League of Women Voters of the United States (1026 17th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.) has assembled and published the "current agendas" and "continuing responsibilities" of the leagues of all the states (July 1961, 17



Reprinted from "A Brief Case for Revision of the Texas Constitution," published by the League of Women Voters of Texas.

pages). Current agendas represent those subjects on which the various leagues have decided to concentrate great attention for the two-year period May 1961 to May 1963; continuing responsibilities represent subjects on which they have taken a stand in previous years and in which they are still much interested.

State Government and Constitutional Revision—A Treatise for Kentucky Citizens comes from the League of Women Voters of Kentucky (115 South Ewing Avenue, Louisville 6, September 1961, 28 pages).

In the same vein the League of Women Voters of Texas (2114 Sealy Avenue, Galveston) has published *How to Revise the Texas Constitution* (August 1961, 19 pages, 25 cents) as well as a six-page folder—*A Brief Case for Revision of the Texas Constitution*—for popular consumption. It has also issued *Voter Registration* (August 1960, 12 pages, 15 cents) and *Voter Registration No. 2* (August 1961, 18 pages, 20 cents).

Calif. Community Moves County Line

Citizens, Two Counties, 16 Special Districts Involved

WHETHER or not the publication, *How Park Hills Moved the County Line: A Self-Study in Citizen Action*, by Charles P. Weikel (Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, July 1961, 61 pages, \$2.00), belonged in this department rather than in the Citizen Action section was a problem to the editors of the REVIEW. Evidently it presented a similar dilemma to its publishers for, in the foreword by Dwight Waldo, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, it is described not only as a narrative of interest to those involved in problems of annexation and incorporation but also something of a "collector's item." "It is not simply a personal memoir, nor a kit of how-to-do-it instructions, nor a 'case study' in any clear sense, nor yet a report of something undertaken as an exercise under the heading 'participant observer.' It has something of each of these, yet it stands on its own base."

The beginning of the process described took place in Spring 1957. At that time Park Hills was an unincorporated residential subdivision of Contra Costa County, California, with about 600 residents. Its closest large neighbor was Berkeley in Alameda County, which was considered by Park Hillians as "their" city in practically all respects." Annexation to Berkeley seemed desirable, particularly after World War II when an influx of new residents sent the demands for services soaring with an equivalent increase in tax rates. Actually,

the possibility of annexation had been considered by the real estate developers who had promoted Park Hill in 1938 but it proved impossible then since a state law forbade annexation by a city of territory lying within another county. Since that time various other inquiries had been made, each quickly dropped because of the complicated procedure necessary, although the state law had since 1938 been changed so that the procedure for making minor changes in county boundary lines was reasonably clearly defined.

The results of the unincorporated status of Park Hills in Contra Costa County were extremely vexing—a high tax rate, a multiplicity of special districts and often inefficient extension of regular county services to an area relatively far removed from the county seat. "Of the three major 'impact areas' in local government—police, schools and fire—only the problem of fire protection had been solved to the satisfaction of Park Hills people."

The proposal for annexation to Berkeley was brought up once more in 1957 by the author in the annual meeting of the Park Hills Homes Association, to which all property owners in the area belonged. It was followed by establishment of an Annexation Committee by the organization, with Mr. Weikel as chairman. The committee proceeded to make a sounding of local opinion on the desire for moving the county line and subsequent annexation and to tackle authorities at various governmental levels on the problems to be solved, procedure to be followed and their own attitudes on the proceedings, particularly those of the Berkeley city officials whose permission was obviously necessary to carry through the annexation.

The specific details of the task can be

read in Mr. Weikel's well written account. Suffice it to say that before the project was completed a state law had to be passed, ordinances approved by the boards of both counties involved and withdrawal arranged from the sixteen special districts serving Park Hills. These hurdles were only part of the picture; behind them lay an almost more demanding series of efforts which included innumerable conferences with city, county and state officials, research forays into state and local statutes and the immense job of educating Park Hills residents on the complex choices involved. That the whole project was completed successfully in February 1959, almost exactly two years after initiation, is largely to the credit of the author as chairman of the Annexation Committee; it also provides the high climax of his fascinating tale of how citizen action can literally move county lines which, most would agree, is quite on a par with moving mountains.

Manager Profession's Future Portrayed

Two of the speeches made at the 1960 conference of the International City Managers' Association are the sources of articles in the June 1961 *Public Management*, now reprinted as a single pamphlet—"The Job of the City Manager," by John M. Pfiffner, and "The City Manager as Urban Coordinator," by Henry Reining, Jr. (School of Public Administration, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1961, 8 pages).

Professor Pfiffner advances the view that the manager profession as a whole is faced with the problem of a double role—that of a policy leader and of a career official. He suggests that the first role will become even more important than it is now and that to underpin it, the profession should develop a framework of knowledge and approaches:

"The manager profession should take a strong stand as a group in favor of a set of values and goals to guide the administration of urban life in an America where 90 per cent of the people live in cities. These values and goals should flow from humanitarian social philosophy. They should represent the views of the profession as a whole while permitting individual managers to make adaptations to meet local situations. The new calling of urban administrators will need to move gradually from the pragmatism of the past toward an intellectual underpinning based on social science research, just as engineering is based on chemistry and physics and medicine on bacteriology and biochemistry."

Dean Reining in the second article continues the emphasis on the increasing urbanism of American life and speculates about the future role of the profession. He considers that role similar to the position of a present-day manager employed abroad—a greater emphasis on communication, on planning and establishing priorities and, finally, a large part of the job being that of coordination or integration of governmental activities on various levels as well as relating those activities to the average individual. "Whether he likes it or not, the city administrator of the modern day and certainly of the future will be forced to become the coordinative agent of the metropolitan situation, simply because he is at the level closest to the people."

Both these articles present provocative viewpoints on the expanding role of the city manager and as such ought to be thoughtfully studied, if not completely agreed with, by those interested in the subject.

Metropolitan Seminar Produces Provocative Ideas

*Two Notes on Metropolitan Research
Resulting from the Second Annual*

Faculty Seminar on Metropolitan Research, August 28-September 7, 1960 has been published by the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs (Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, June 1961, 30 pages). The first part of the booklet, "Research on Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas," by Stanley Scott, advances the thesis that the definitions of "metropolitan area problems" commonly used are too narrow—either the "too many governments" or the "area-wide service need" approach is too limited to "comprehend the full range of matters that must be included in a contemporary view of metropolitan problems." Using in preference the phrase, "problems of living in metropolitan areas," he then proceeds to range over a wide field of topics connected in one way or another with metropolitan regions—problem areas, role of the social scientist in action-oriented research, metropolitan reorganization proposals and chances for success.

In the second part Ronald R. Boyce and Robert L. Brown discuss "Some Land-Use Research Needs in Metropolitan Areas." They suggest that "one of the elements most lacking in urban land-use research is a satisfactory measuring stick by which costs and benefits from alternative land-use proposals and changes can be evaluated. . . . Paradoxically, one of the major research problems involves the continual counteraction of unsound conclusions reached by planning bodies and other agencies regarding land use. Too many have a quick, ready-made answer to the problem. . . . Considerable research is needed therefore to insure that sound land-use research is transferred into sound land-use decisions in both the public and private sectors."

Conferences, Workshops Held in Massachusetts

The Bureau of Government Research of the University of Massachusetts

(Amherst), in conjunction with the Massachusetts Public Welfare Conference, held a Public Welfare Workshop on August 9-11. Three major addresses were given—"Massachusetts Public Welfare in the Future," by Patrick A. Tompkins, commissioner of the State Department of Public Welfare; "Federal Programs in Public Assistance," by Phoebe Bannister of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and "The Northampton Project," by Charles N. Hamberg, project director of the State Department of Mental Health.

On August 22 to 25 the bureau sponsored the Sixth Annual School for Massachusetts Assessors in cooperation with the State Department of Corporations and Taxation and the Association of Massachusetts Assessors.

Some two hundred people attended the Thirteenth Governor's Conference held on the University of Massachusetts campus June 15 and 16. Awards for public achievement were made to Worcester and Dalton with a personal award to Rev. W. Seavey Joyce, S.J., dean of Boston College's College of Business Administration.

On Thursday evenings in October and November the bureau scheduled a Seminar for Selectmen of Western Massachusetts, a program which has been very successful in past years.

Discuss Arizona Constitution

"While there seems to be no thunderous demand for the complete reconstruction of the Arizona constitution of 1911 through the medium of a constitutional convention, there is a quietly persistent thought among many knowledgeable citizens of Arizona that the present constitution is less than satisfactory in many respects. Many would argue, moreover, that these constitutional faults cannot be corrected through piecemeal revision or,

if they can, the time span required to complete the whole change would be too great."

With this preliminary comment Bruce B. Mason and Heinz R. Hink continue undaunted in their thorough exposition on that state's fundamental document in *Revision of the Arizona Constitution: A Commentary* (Bureau of Government Research, Arizona State University, Tempe, 1961, 109 pages, \$1.00). Initially examined are the constitutional convention of 1910 on the eve of the state's admission into the Union and the general faults of the constitution—too many amendments, excessive wordage, obsolete material, dispersion throughout the document of provisions dealing with the same topic, and incorporation by reference of earlier statutes which are not fundamental in nature.

The authors devote a chapter to each of the following: civil rights, suffrage and elections, the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, public debt and revenue and taxation, local government, continuity of government, state and school lands, education, private corporations, the corporation commission and public service corporations, the militia, and the amendment and revision processes. The Arizona provisions are compared in many instances with those operative in other states to indicate alternative approaches. In general, however, the publication is devoid of harsh criticism; it is rather a concise guide to constitutional problems in Arizona.

Texas Organization Chart

The Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Texas at Austin has published an *Organization Chart—The State Government of Texas 1961* (\$1.00). It presents "as complete a picture as possible of Texas state government, showing the main functional groupings of state agencies, the methods of appointment and the lines of responsibility."

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 617)

Approval of the plans must be obtained from the boards of supervisors of the participating counties before a bond issue election can be scheduled.

Considerable political opposition to county participation has recently shown up in San Mateo County which is located south of San Francisco on the San Francisco peninsula.

IBA Study of Bond Yields Released

Yield indexes on municipal bonds as compiled by Moody's Investors Service and *The Bond Buyer* are analyzed in the September 1961 issue of the *IBA Statistical Bulletin*, published by the Investment Bankers Association of America.

The report is divided into three sections: I: An Examination of Yield Indexes on Municipal Bonds; II: The Future Market; III: The Market of the Past Quarter.

The bulletin is reasonably detailed and should prove of value to any official concerned with marketing municipals.

Canadian Minister Criticizes States' Policies

Canada's Minister of Trade George Hees recently criticized procurement practices and laws of the states of New York and California which, he asserted, discriminate against Canadian suppliers.

Speaking before the National Foreign Trade Council convention, Minister Hees said that California has a "Buy America" act which forbids non-American firms bidding on supply contracts for the state or its local governments. In New York contracts exclude bids by Canadian firms.

His speech dealt with the over-all trade imbalance presently existing between Canada and the United States and ways in which the situation might be corrected. Last year Canada bought \$679 million more merchandise from this country than it sold here.

Books in Review

Metropolitan Areas

1400 GOVERNMENTS. The Political Economy of the New York Metropolitan Region. By Robert C. Wood with Vladimir V. Almendinger. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1961. xviii, 267 pp. Tables, charts. \$5.75.

Without this volume, the last of a series of nine,¹ the reports of the New York Metropolitan Region Study would have been seriously deficient. A most illuminating picture of the shape of the New York metropolitan region by 1985—projecting population and economic growth on the basis of trends visible today—is presented in the other eight volumes. The picture is a complex mixture of the favorable and the unfavorable. Here at last, in the ninth volume, a reading is taken on the governmental machinery available to alter the unfavorable trends and steer "Metropolis 1985" in a more satisfactory direction.

Wood's analysis gives little additional reason for optimism. The 1400 governments which make the decisions for the region's "public sector" tend to "ride with, rather than oppose, the main currents in the private sector." The local governments are so numerous, their jurisdictions so limited, their capacities so varied that the total effect of their combined decisions is for farsighted imaginative decisions to be cancelled out by the shortsighted, and parochial "government as usual" approach. The great "regional enterprises," e.g., the Port of New York Authority, by the very nature of their bond-financed programs are really an extension of the marketplace of the "private sector."

Furthermore, there seems little likelihood that the region's citizens will revolt against the inevitabilities of 1985 and construct new governmental mechanisms. As

compared with personal income and the cost of living generally, local taxes are not as painful as often supposed. Also, services are generally sufficiently good to minimize the pressures for change.

In *1400 Governments*, as in his other writings, Wood succeeds in presenting the phenomenon of the modern metropolis in a most stimulating and thought-provoking manner. He analyzes the pressures which are responsible for the steady growth of local governmental expenditures in urban and urbanizing areas. The application of the mathematical technique of factor analysis to explain the changing dimension of the urban environment is of special interest to scholars. The general reader who finds this somewhat difficult to follow will not lose the main thrust of Wood's argument if he concentrates attention on the less technical chapters.

* * *

Three strategies of adjustment by the local government system to the changing urban environment are presented: (1) "Viewing economics through political-colored glasses" or manipulating property tax assessments and using special districts to make the environment appear to be something different from what it actually is; (2) "conditioning growth factors" or using the tools of zoning, planning and industrial promotion; (3) "the appeal upstairs" or turning to state and federal governments for support, thus trying to escape the environment.

Actually, it is through a combination of these strategies that local government in the New York Region has shaped its adaptation to the urban environment. The combination is quite different in the various parts of the region. What have been the consequences? The author's conditional answer is that "so far as the policies of redefining urban environment are concerned, these strategies, in and of themselves, have little effect on the mainstream of economic development. . . . Not one of the strategies . . . has important

¹ For a discussion of the previous eight volumes, see the REVIEW, March 1960, page 163, and February 1961, page 114.

implications for the private sector of the region taken as an entity."

The great variety of local responses has meant that the elements of the private sector have no real trouble finding a "hospitable reception" elsewhere in the region when rebuffed by particular local policies. If there were not region-wide considerations and if the result were a reasonably well ordered pattern of growth, this situation would not be a matter of concern. However, the bleak portrait of urban sprawl and gray areas predicted for Metropolis 1985 is a matter of concern to the private sector which does desire a degree of order and stability in the region. To what extent have the regional agencies and programs of the federal and state governments met this need? The author concludes, "they underwrite and accelerate the process of scatteration."

* * *

Although the concluding chapter does little to inspire hope that "the political economy of the future" will function differently than it has in the past and face the region's problems head-on, there are some encouraging signs.

Will the Metropolitan Region Council become "an official regional leadership institution" and provide a new and constructive dimension to intergovernmental relations within the region? Will "stimulus for reform" come from higher echelons in the American federal system? Will "informed nongovernmental concern with the course of regional economic development"—particularly on the part of the Regional Plan Association for which the Metropolitan Region Study was undertaken—evolve programs "to strengthen the prospects of coordinated guidance of urban growth"?

Commenting on *1400 Governments*, C. McKim Norton, executive vice president of the Regional Plan Association, said: "Citizens must visualize the region that their individual decisions are beginning to shape. Only by citizen demand can we head off the unattractive conse-

quences of current economic forces and municipal mercantilism. . . . We are in a very real race between explosive growth—much of it in the wrong places—and an educational program that can arouse us to consciously guide that growth."

Wood doubts the capacity of the region's inhabitants to demand that local governmental units pursue policies designed to "ensure the region's optimum development. . . . People have regarded these units as necessary but not especially admirable service units to proved programs which did not seem supportable through private enterprise. It has never been in the region's tradition to charge local government with the responsibility for physical and economic development. The price mechanism and the marketplace are our chosen instruments for those purposes."

He sees palliatives applied by local governments to meet particular crises. But the attitude of citizens is not characterized by a sense of urgency for more fundamental solutions to urban problems. Rather, "If, in any part of the region, public service levels fall too low, or conditions of blight and obsolescence become too severe for our taste, many of us simply move out farther into the suburbs. This is in the great American pioneering tradition of abandoning settlements we have despoiled." Yet, it is possible that "the public may adopt a new consciousness toward their neighbors and embrace an ideology of metropolitan citizenship."

W.N.C., Jr.

THE FUTURE METROPOLIS. Edited by Lloyd Rodwin. George Braziller, Inc., 215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, 1961. 253 pp. \$5.00.

Published originally in the Winter 1961 issue of *Daedalus*, journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the twelve essays in this volume explore the political, social, economic, technological, and physical questions facing the modern metropolis. The

importance of the issues raised by the authors coming from diverse fields but all interested in the metropolis is stressed by the first sentence of the first essay. "Although the city itself is five thousand years old, the metropolis is a new phenomenon, dating from a mere hundred years ago." This new man-made environment of the metropolis is rapidly becoming the dominant environment of the world's population. These essays help sharpen the issues which the future metropolis must face.

W.N.C., JR.

Codification

CODIFICATION OF MUNICIPAL ORDINANCES. By Charles S. Rhyne, Brice W. Rhyne and Edward D. Means, Jr. National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 839 17th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., 1961. 115 pp. \$3.00.

No organization in America has a more comprehensive library of municipal codes, ordinances and specialized municipal law than the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. Its reference services and model ordinances have been utilized by hundreds of communities throughout the nation. It is fitting, therefore, that the authors present a thorough analysis of ordinance codification, the need for it and procedures for doing so.

A city cannot be operated efficiently today on legal machinery designed and adopted to solve municipal problems of ten, twenty or fifty years ago. Yet thousands of cities are trying to do just this in spite of the economic, industrial, educational and other developments in recent years.

For the community that finds itself in this position, this volume should prove an invaluable aid. While it is definitely written as a technical guide for use by those trained in law, it is not a legalistic maze incomprehensible to the layman. It should be of definite interest and use to

any public official, appointive or elective, who is concerned with the enforcement, administration or enactment of municipal ordinances.

W.J.D.B.

Additional Books And Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

Accounting

ACCOUNTS CLASSIFICATION—THE KEYSTONE OF THE ACCOUNTING CYCLE. By George A. Wagdin. Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, August 16, 1961. 12 pp. \$1.00.

Budgets

ORGANIZATION, ROLE AND STAFFING OF STATE BUDGET OFFICES. By Arlene Theuer Shadoan. Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, Lexington, August 1961. vii, 172 pp.

Business Responsibilities

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY. By Lewis Mumford. Address at new Home Office Building, The Baltimore Life Insurance Co., Baltimore, Maryland, April 24, 1961. The Company, Mount Royal Plaza, Baltimore, 1961. 18 pp.

City Manager

EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS IN THE CITY MANAGEMENT PROFESSION IN OKLAHOMA. Bureau of Government Research, University of Oklahoma, Norman, May 1961. 24 pp. Tables.

Code of Ordinances

SAMPLE CODE OF ORDINANCES FOR SMALL CITIES AND TOWNS IN TENNESSEE. By Don W. Ownby. Municipal Technical Advisory Service, Division of University Extension, University of Ten-

nessee, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, Knoxville, September 1961. 142 pp. \$3.00.

Conflict of Interest

CONFLICT OF INTEREST IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Dorothy Campbell Tompkins. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley 4, 1961. 71 pp. \$1.50.

County Administrators

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS IN CALIFORNIA COUNTIES: SALARIES, QUALIFICATIONS, AND OTHER COMPARATIVE DATA. SECOND REPORT ON THE COUNTY ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER IN CALIFORNIA WITH A PROPOSED COUNTY ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER ORDINANCE FOR SANTA CRUZ COUNTY. By August G. Manza. County Administrator's Office, Santa Cruz, May and June 1961. 20 and 14 pp. respectively.

County Government

THE KIND OF CHARTER NEEDED FOR MONTGOMERY COUNTY, OHIO. Community Research, Inc., 410 West First Street, Dayton 2, April 1961. 38 pp.

Downtown Areas

MOVING INTO THE ACTION DECADE: KEEPING DOWNTOWN DOMINANT. Ideas for Community Leaders. Summary of the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the International Downtown Executives Association. By Gabriel M. Gelb. New Orleans Central Area Committee, New Orleans, 1961. 12 pp.

Economics

THE UPPER MIDWEST ECONOMIC STUDY: PROGRESS REPORT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1961. The Study, 10 Vincent Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, September 1961. 56 pp.

Handbooks

HANDBOOK FOR WASHINGTON TOWN OFFICIALS (MUNICIPALITIES OF THE FOURTH CLASS). By John S. Lamb. Bu-

reau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, Seattle, August 1961. v, 137 pp. \$2.00. (Apply University of Washington Press, Seattle 5.)

Home Rule

"HOME RULE" vs. SUPER-GOVERNMENT. A Political Science Paper. By Maxwell Lehman, Frank Smallwood and Arthur Prager. Metropolitan Regional Council, 250 Church Street, New York, 1961. 29 pp.

Initiative and Referendum

LEGISLATIVE SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS TO A VOTE OF THE PEOPLE. Louisiana Legislative Council, P. O. Box 4012, Capitol Station, Baton Rouge, August 1961. 14 pp.

Internship Programs

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT CALIFORNIA LEGISLATIVE INTERNSHIP PROGRAM FOR 1960-1961. Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley 4, September 1961. 28 pp.

Legislation

NEW JERSEY REVISED STATUTES. Title 40A. Municipalities and Counties. First Legislative Report by the County and Municipal Law Revision Commission to the 184th Legislature, 1960. The Commission, State Capitol, Trenton, 1960. 110 pp.

Legislative Councils

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UTAH LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1959-1961. The Council, State Capitol, Salt Lake City, December 1960. 46 pp.

Public Health

MEETING HEALTH NEEDS BY SOCIAL ACTION. Edited by Marvin Bressler. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, the Academy, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, September 1961. 148 pp. \$2.00.

Purchasing

MUNICIPAL PURCHASING IN MONROE COUNTY. Analysis and Proposals for Improvement. Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., 45 Exchange Street, Rochester 14, New York, June 1961. 42 pp. Tables, charts.

Reapportionment

A NOTE: MEASURING COMPACTNESS AS A REQUIREMENT OF LEGISLATIVE APPORTIONMENT. By Ernest C. Reock, Jr. *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, February 1961. 5 pp. Tables.

Recreation

A GUIDE TO BOOKS ON RECREATION. *Recreation*, Part II, National Recreation Association, 8 West Eighth Street, New York 11, September 1961. 31 pp.

Salaries

1961 SALARIES OF WASHINGTON CITIES. Association of Washington Cities in co-operation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, Seattle 5, July 1961. 22 pp.

Service Charges

SANITARY SERVICE CHARGES IN TENNESSEE—1961. By Linzy D. Albert. Tennessee State Planning Commission, C-1 121 Cordell Hull Building, Nashville 3, August 1961. 71 pp. \$1.00.

Shopping Centers

SALES IN LEADING SHOPPING CENTERS AND SHOPPING DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Homer Hoyt. *Urban Land*, Urban Land Institute, 1200 18th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., 1961. 6 pp. Tables. \$1.00.

State Aid

STATE AID TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT. A Brief Description of the Current Types of Financial Assistance Showing Purpose,

Methods of Apportionment, Statutory Citations and Trends in Amounts Distributed. Bureau of Statistical Services, Division of Municipal Affairs, Department of Audit and Control, State of New York, Albany, September 1961. 96 pp.

Taxation and Finance

FEDERAL FISCAL ISSUES. By George Bishop. Tax Foundation, Inc., 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, 1961. 58 pp. Tables.

GOVERNMENTAL FINANCES IN 1960. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D.C., September 1961. 37 pp. 50 cents.

TAX RATES IN VIRGINIA CITIES. By William M. Griffin. Virginia Municipal League, 905 Travelers Building, Richmond 19, and Bureau of Public Administration, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1961. 29 pp.

TAXATION IN MICHIGAN: AN APPRAISAL. By Harvey E. Brazer. Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1961. 41 pp. Tables. \$1.00.

Traffic

BETTER STREET TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT FOR BOSTON. Study and Recommendations of the Automotive Safety Foundation—1961. The Foundation, 200 Ring Building, Washington 6, D.C., September 1961. 39 pp. Illus.

METRO—TOWARD A BRIGHTER TRAFFIC FUTURE FOR CITIES AND SUBURBS. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., 1961. 28 pp. Illus. 15 cents.

Zoning

DENSITY ZONING. Organic Zoning for Planned Residential Developments. By Eldridge Lovelace and William L. Weismantel. Urban Land Institute, 1200 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., July 1961. 40 pp. Maps. \$5.00.

Session Refines Model Constitution

A discussion session at the 67th National Conference on Government brought the sixth edition of the *Model State Constitution* near completion.

The Miami Beach workshop, co-chaired by John P. Wheeler, Jr., director of the League's State Constitutional Studies Project, and by Frank P. Grad, associate director of the Legislative Drafting Research Fund, Columbia University, discussed a tentative draft of the *Model* recently revised on the basis of comments and suggestions received from more than a hundred public officials and other authorities on state government.

Substantial meeting of the minds and publication of the revision is expected early in 1962.

In addition to the text of the constitution, the *Model* will include analytical comments on the various articles with, in some instances, possible alternative provisions.

Although the *Model State Constitution*, the first edition of which was published in 1921 and revised in 1928, 1933, 1941 and 1943, is generally credited with having had considerable influence on the improvement of state government, the preface to the preliminary discussion draft circulated to critics recognizes that "strictly speaking there can be no such thing as a model state constitution because there is no model state."

"Consequently, when one essays the role of model builder in this field," says the preface, "he is immediately beset by a host of conflicting urges. He is tempted to imagine the ideal state that never existed and never will and write a constitution for it. The trouble with this is that the ideal state would prob-

ably need no constitution and perhaps no government, at least no government with coercive and restraining powers.

"The draft of the new *Model State Constitution* is, like its predecessors, designed to be a practical help to persons interested in improving the constitutions of actual states in the American union. Admitting the nonexistence of a 'model' or even a 'typical' state, the proposed draft is, therefore, quite traditional, indeed, more traditional in its conformity to basic American political ideas than either its predecessor *Models* or most existing state constitutions.

"In going back to earlier American constitutional traditions, this *Model* looks more like the newest state constitutions—those of Alaska, Hawaii and New Jersey—than the middle-aged, heavily inflated documents of most of the other states. The reason for this may be expressed in the words of *A Report to the People of Alaska from the Alaska Constitutional Convention*, which explained its reason for having adopted 'a simple plan of state government that is characteristically American' in the following paragraph:

"This system in its essential features is very similar to that of the national government in Washington. This is because the convention found that the state governments that worked best were those that conformed most closely to the simple design given to the government of the United States by the convention that met in Philadelphia in 1787."

"The departure from the simplicity and clarity of the national prototype has been due, of course, to a number of causes, perhaps the least of which have been unclear thinking and bungling workmanship."

Group Named to Accounting Project

Joseph M. Cunningham, former first deputy city comptroller of New York, has been appointed the National Municipal League's representative on the recently reactivated National Committee on Governmental Accounting.

Serving with Mr. Cunningham as the League's advisory committee are Frederick L. Bird, former director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet; Bayard H. Faulkner, former finance commissioner of Montclair, New Jersey; A. M. Hillhouse, professor of public administration, Cornell University; Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., League treasurer; and Wade S. Smith, director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet.

Pioneering in 1900 in advocacy of uniform municipal accounting, the League formed a committee to investigate methods then in use and the following year formed a Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting. In later years League committees cooperated with similar committees of other interested organizations.

The reactivated committee, which includes representatives of fourteen organizations and governmental agencies, is financed and operated by the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada.

Metro Pioneer Studenski Dead

Paul Studenski, emeritus professor of economics at New York University, died suddenly November 2 at the age of 73. Dr. Studenski, who had been associated with the National Municipal League for many years as an author and consultant, conducted the nation-wide study for the League's Committee on Metro-

politan Government which resulted in publication of *The Government of Metropolitan Areas* in 1930, the pioneer work on this subject in the United States.

Dr. Studenski's most recent service to the League was the preparation of one of the background studies in connection with the State Constitutional Studies Project.

A young law school graduate when Louis Bleriot flew the English Channel in 1909, Dr. Studenski trained under the French airman, then came to the United States in 1911 and for several years was a stunt flier. Later he received his Ph.D. at Columbia University.

Since his retirement in 1954, Dr. Studenski served various governmental agencies as a consultant and was director of the Albany Graduate Program in Public Administration.

Wins Award for REVIEW Article

For his article, "More Than Meets the Eye," which appeared in the May 1961 issue of the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, Paul W.



Paul W. Kearney

Kearney has been awarded second prize in the magazine division of the Ted V. Rogers Journalism Awards.

His article sets forth the practical advantages of highway landscaping, stressing the significant safety dividends as well as the basic economic necessity.

Tools for Achieving Better Government

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 32 pages (1959)	\$.25
Charts: Council-Manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-Council Form (14½ x 22"), 50 cents each, set of three	1.00
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1961) .....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1961) .....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1960) .....	.05
Comments of Labor Union Leaders in Council-Manager Cities (mimeographed), 6 pages (1959) .....	.10
P. R. [Proportional Representation], 12 pages (1960) .....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1958)	1.00
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1958)	1.00
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.50)	

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946) .....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948) .....	.75
Model City Charter, 172 pages (1941)	1.50
Model Civilian Absentee Voting Law, 14 pp. mimeographed (1959)	2.00
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953)	1.00
Model County Charter, 109 pages (1956)	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 46 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 32 pp. mimeographed (1959)	2.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 38 pages (1954)	1.00
Model Municipal Revenue Bond Law, 31 pages (1958)	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 60 pages (1954)	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law, 73 pages (1955)	1.00
Model State Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Reporting Law, 28 pp. mimeographed (1961)	2.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953) .....	.75
Model State Constitution, 63 pages (1948)	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 40 pages (1961) .....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1957)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1960) .....	.15
Chronic Overlapping, by James K. Pollock (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW), 8 pp. (1960) .....	.25
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952)	3.50
Compilation of the 48 Direct Primary Systems, 55 pages (1960)	2.00
Coroners—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 102 pages mimeographed (1960)	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 82 pages (1960)	2.00
Goals for Metropolis, by Luther Gulick (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW), 10 pp. (1960) .....	.25
Guide for Charter Commissions, 48 pages (1960)	1.00
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 40 pages (1959) .....	.50
Maze of Governments, by W. Brooke Graves (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW), 25 pp. (1960) .....	.50
Metropolitan Areas 1960, by Paul Studenski (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW), 17 pp. (1960) .....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951) .....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940) .....	.25

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

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**NEW
PUBLICATIONS
in the
State Constitutional
Studies Project**

SERIES I

(Available during 1961.)

1. THE MODEL STATE CONSTITUTION, \$2.00
2. SALIENT ISSUES OF CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, \$3.00
3. THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE STATES, \$2.00
4. THE STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION — A Manual on Its Planning, Organization and Operation, \$2.50 (now available)
5. HOW TO STUDY A STATE CONSTITUTION, \$1.00
(Special price of \$9.00 for all five.)

SERIES II

(Now Available)

1. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE SHAPE OF THE DOCUMENT
by Robert B. Dishman, \$1.50
2. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: REAPPORTIONMENT
by Gordon E. Baker, \$2.00
3. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE GOVERNOR
by Bennett M. Rich, \$1.00
4. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION
by Ferrel Heady, \$1.50
5. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE BILL OF RIGHTS
by Robert S. Rankin, 75¢

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